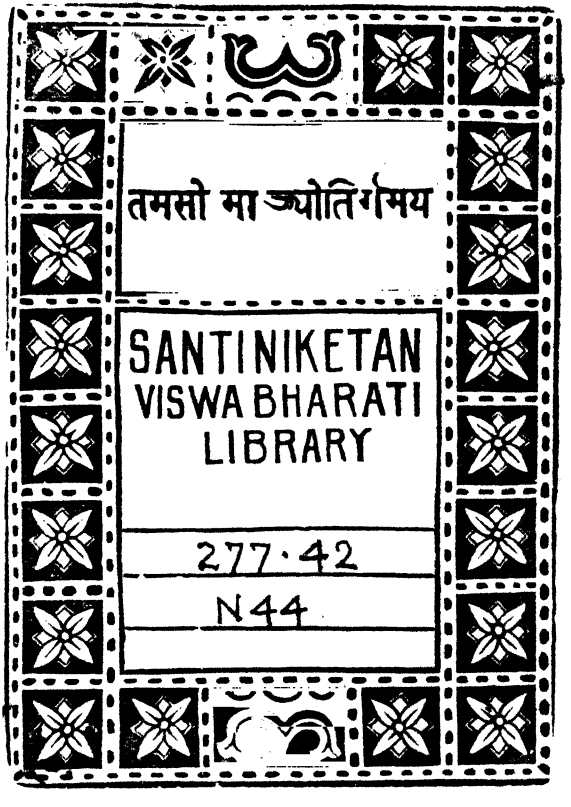
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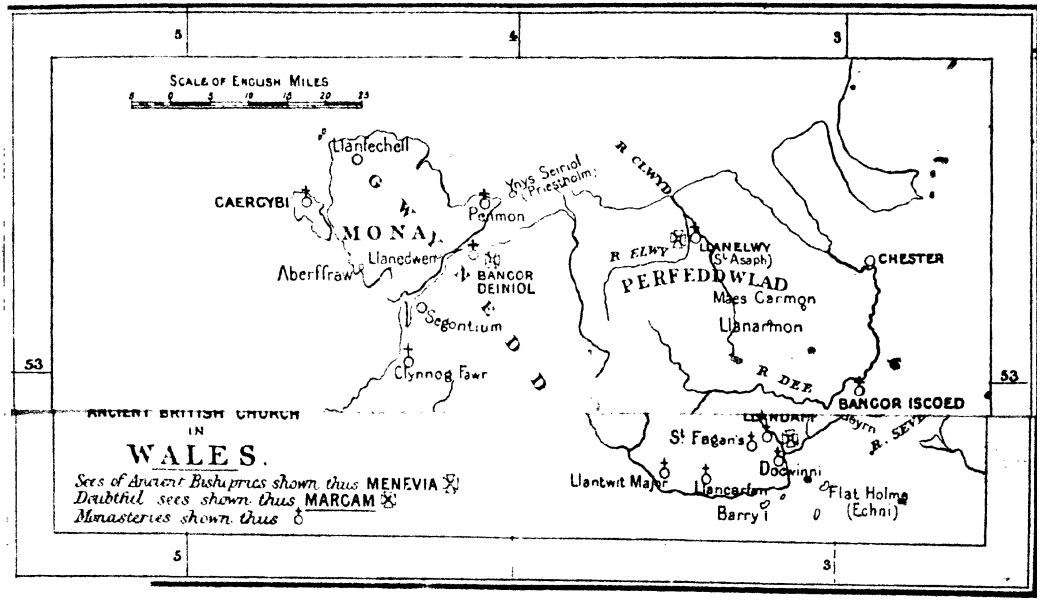
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Aberffraw
BANGOR DEINIOL
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Flat Holme (Echni)

A POPULAR HISTORY

OF THE

Ancient British Church,

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO

THE CHURCH IN WALES

BY

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AND MONMOUTHSHIRE

WITH A MAP.

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PREFACE.

I HAVE endeavoured in the following pages to give a popular sketch of Ancient British Church history, free from errors and misconceptions. I have consulted original sources of information, and in my inferences have generally followed the guidance of the best modern authorities. I can scarcely hope that I have quite escaped error, but I have done my best to avoid it, and those who are familiar with the conflicting testimonies and theories which beset the inquirer will appreciate the difficulties of my task. I have paid special attention to the history of the Church of Wales, which is, perhaps, usually too much neglected. As I have lived for several years at Cardiff, I have naturally been led to dwell particularly on the history and institutions of the diocese of Llandaff, for the study of which there exist peculiar sources. The antiquities of Llantwit Major first made me feel an interest in the monastic system, which was the glory of Celtic Christianity, and which I have considered in some detail.

The substance of the chief part of this little history

was originally contributed to a Cardiff parish magazine, in a series of papers, which were intended as, in some degree, an historical vindication of the present position of the Church in Wales against the criticisms of opponents. I have also incorporated some passages from a paper on "Welsh Monasteries before A.D. 681," read by me last February before the Cambrian Society of South Wales and Monmouthshire, and subsequently published in the *Red Dragon, the National Magazine of Wales.*

As I have had to introduce Welsh names, and have found it best in general to adhere closely to their Welsh orthography, the English reader may, perhaps, at times be staggered by what appear to be unpronounceable collections of consonants. It may be useful, therefore, without burdening him with a large number of rules, to state a few which may help him to read the Welsh name with approximate correctness.

Welsh pronunciation is not so difficult as it appears; the only sound which an average Englishman cannot form is *ll*, an aspirated *l*. In such words as *Llandaff*, perhaps the best course to adopt is to ignore the difficulty altogether, and pronounce the word as if written *Landaff*. *Ch*, also, is not an English sound, but can easily be attained when once heard, being the same as *ch* in the Scotch *loch*. Other sounds are quite easy.

C is always hard, as in *can*; *dd=th* in *then*;

th=*ṫh* in *thin*, *ê*=long *a*, *f*=*v*, *ff*=*f*; *u*=*u* in *busy*, or *ŭ* in *hum*. *w* (used as a vowel)=*oo* as in *hood*, or is long as *oo* in *boot*, *y* in all syllables but the last=*u* in *but*, in last syllable generally=*i* in *din*, *aw*=*ow* in *how*.[1]

The accent of Welsh words is on the penultimate, but in some compound words, as Ty-gwyn, each part retains its own accent, and is pronounced as it would be if not compounded.

The following list of words and their pronunciations may be useful, it being understood, however, that, in some cases, the pronunciation appended is only *approximately* correct

Dyfan	Duv an, Dove an.
Bettws	Bet toos (s, not z)
Llanrwst	Ilan-roost
Pawl Hên	Powl Hane (more exactly Paool Hane)
Safaddan	Sav-a*ṫh* an.[2]
Dyfnig	Duv nig, Dove nig.
Teilo	Ti′ lo.
Fawr	Vowr (more exactly Văŏor).
Cynog	Kŭ′n og
Morganwg	Mor gin ŏog.
Afan	A′v an
Llanddewi Brefi	Llan *ṫh*ey-wy Brev-y.[2]

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[1] *ŭ* approximates to the German *u* or the French *u*. *Aw* may be more exactly described as a diphthong composed of a short *a* and short *oo*. The scholar may compare the probable value of the Latin *au* as in *Claudius*

[2] *th*=*th* in *then*, th=*th* in *thin*.

Caergybi	Kī're-gúbby.
Cattwg	Kátt-ŏog.
Dunawd	Dín-owd (more exactly Dín-ăŏod).
Maelgwn Gwynedd	Mī'le-goon Gwín-e*th*.[1]
Ynys	U'n-nis (s, not z).
Maes Garmon	Mīse (s, not z) Gár-mon.
Cathmael	Káth-mīle.

I have to thank Professor Roberts, of the University College, Cardiff, for kindly revising the foregoing rules and list and making suggestions. My thanks are also due to the Principal and Professors of St. David's College, Lampeter, for their kindness in allowing me to borrow works on British Church history from the college library; to Mr. J. M. Jones, of Cardiff, for lending me the "Lives of the Cambro-British Saints" for a somewhat prolonged period; and to Mr. John Ballinger, of the Cardiff Free Library, for giving me valuable assistance at all times in my references to books under his care.

E. J. NEWELL.

CARDIFF, *September*, 1886.

[1] *th* = *th* in *then*; th = *th* in *thin*.

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A POPULAR HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

In default of other records, or when such records are commonly neglected, the place-names of a country often bear witness to its past history. Posterity may forget its benefactors, but their names are written indelibly in the soil, and when men are silent, the stones themselves cry out. Englishmen frequently look upon the numerous Welsh names beginning with *llan* as so many cacophonous puzzles; but those who know that the prefix signifies "church" or "sacred enclosure," and can read aright the remaining syllables of each name, often find that the place was of old the scene of the labours or of the death of some holy man, of whom "the world was not worthy," who kept alive the light of holiness and true religion in a wild and gloomy age. In Wales alone there are no less than 479 of these local saints; and as for Cornwall, another refuge of the Cymric race, old

Fuller declares that "if the people of that province have as much holiness in their hearts as the parishes therein carry sanctity in their names, Cornwall may pass for another Holy Land in public reputation."

Of some of these saints, and of the church whereof they were leaders, we will attempt to treat, so far as can be done in a few brief chapters. Yet it may be urged, "Yours is a bootless quest; of what use is it for the nineteenth century to stir up memories of a set of superstitious monks? What are they to us?" Yes; some of them no doubt were monks and superstitious: but, for all that, if they were too credulous, we perhaps in our age are inclined to be too sceptical; and if they were too rigorous in their fastings and vigils, we perhaps are a trifle too luxurious and too slothful. True, they had not the printing-press and the steam-engine, their habits may have lacked our refinement, and the horizon of their world may have been somewhat limited; but, to compensate for that, they had a clear view of the other world, and lived as its citizens; whereas, possibly, the smoke of our engines and manufactories dims at times our view of its glories, and the sound of our steam-whistles deafens our ears to the angels' songs which they heard. At all events, they are much to us in this respect, that they were members of the same Church as ourselves; and if we, who have entered into their labours, think we are more clever and enlightened, we ought not to forget that they bore the burden and heat of the day, and should forgive their weaknesses in admiration of their faith

and fortitude. Perhaps, too, we may learn something; who knows? The Divine Teacher once preached a sermon with sparrows for His text, and the saints at rest in Paradise are of more value than many sparrows.

It is impossible to determine, and therefore useless to discuss, who first preached the gospel in Britain. In the first ages of the Church the seed often grew secretly, and the names of its sowers are unknown. Many volumes have been written on the subject, and much toil expended, but speculations are useless when they have no foundation in facts. The visit of St. Paul depends upon no precise testimony, only upon vague general statements, such as that he went "to the very ends of the earth," and that his "teaching," passing through the civilised world, crossed the ocean even to Britain. As little authority is there for the traditions regarding other of the Apostles, St. Peter, St. Simon Zelotes, St. Philip, St. James the Great, and St. John; while the story which connects Joseph of Arimathea with the old monastery of Glastonbury is late. Passing by the legend of the consecration of Aristobulus as a bishop of Britain by St. Paul, and the curious theories concerning British Christian ladies at Rome, we come to two statements which are noteworthy on account of their preservation by the Welsh. One of the Triads[1] relates that the faith of

[1] The Welsh "historical" Triads are records, written in a poetical style, in which the facts are grouped by threes. Many are quite worthless, but some are ancient and of value. The

Christ was first brought to the nation of the Cymry from Rome by Bran the Blessed, the father of Caradawc, or Caractacus, and brother of Branwen, the maiden "divinely fair," whose beauty, gentleness, and woes form the theme of the sweetest and most pathetic of Celtic romances But the authority of this evidence is weakened by the lateness of its probable date, as well as by its conflict with the statements of the Roman historian Tacitus The other story is the celebrated one of Lucius, Lleurwg ap Coel ap Cyllin, who, say the Triads, built the first church in the island at Llandaff Curiously, the place-names of the see of Llandaff still preserve the names of the king and the missionaries he obtained from Pope Eleutherus Close to Llandaff itself, on a picturesque eminence, overlooking a beautiful wood and a long stretch of luxuriant plains, stands the

Triad here referred to may be quoted, as it will exemplify the style of these writings —"The three blissful Rulers of the Island of Britain —Bran the Blessed, the son of Llyr Lledlath, who first brought the faith of Christ to the nation of the Cymry from Rome, where he was seven years a hostage for his son Caradawc, whom the Romans made prisoner through the craft and deceit and treachery of Aregwedd Fôeddawg The second was Lleurig ab Coel ab Cyllyn Sant, who was called Lleufer Mawr, and built the ancient church at Llandaff, which was the first in Britain, and who gave the privileges of land, and of kindred, and of social rights, and of society to such as were of the faith of Christ The third was Cadwaladyr the Blessed, who gave refuge, with his lands, and with all his goods, to the believers who fled from the Saxons without faith, and from the aliens who would have slain them "—Tr 35, Third Series Lleurwg is also mentioned as the founder of Llandaff by Tr. 62, Third Series.

village of St. Fagan, noted for a hotly-contested battle fought near it in the Civil War. Dyfan, one of Fagan's colleagues, is commemorated by the village and church of Merthyr Dyfan (Dyfan the Martyr). But, although the place-names are curious, the story, of which there are many and varied versions, is supposed by the best authorities to be merely a development of a statement in the "Life of Eleutherus," in the Catalogue of Roman pontiffs, that this pope received a letter from Lucius, king of Britain, praying that he might be made a Christian. Lucius would, according to this, belong to the latter part of the second century, but the date of the authority is A.D. 530[1]

There is positive evidence that even in Gaul there were only a few scattered churches in the second century, and that no general movement took place until about A.D. 250 Tertullian is the first to mention Christians in Britain. Writing in A.D. 208, he mentions "parts of Britain not reached by the Romans" as being "subjugated to Christ", and Origen, in A.D. 239, bears similar testimony. "The light that was to lighten the Gentiles" had now reached even to "the isles of the sea," and many, weary of Paganism, received it gladly.

[1] This is the date of the later form of the Catalogue. The original Catalogue, written shortly after 353, does not contain the words. They were "manifestly written in the time and tone of Prosper."—Haddan and Stubbs, 1. 25.

CHAPTER II.

THE DIOCLETIAN PERSECUTION.

"THE religious policy of the ancient world," says the historian Gibbon, "seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character to oppose the progress of Christianity." Polytheism, usually so tolerant, had nothing but persecution for the followers of that religion which claimed universal supremacy, and the Pagan Empire of Rome recognised a rival and a foe in that Church which knit together men of all nations and all classes, and thus came into conflict with its historic policy, *Divide et impera* (divide and rule). From the time of Nero onwards, the Christians were under the ban of the imperial laws, though persecutions were usually local and of short duration. The Emperor Alexander Severus, indeed, with philosophic impartiality, placed in his chapel the statues of Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius, and Christ; and the Emperor Philip was popularly reported to be a Christian. But a fiery trial, more severe than any that had preceded, was yet to befall the Church before Pagan Rome submitted to the cross of Christ. The Emperor Diocletian, in 303, put forth an edict against Christianity, and, embittered by opposition, subsequently attempted by further edicts to eradicate

utterly "the Christian superstition," and "the Christian name."

Hitherto, Britain, from its position at the extremity of the Roman world, had escaped the violence of persecution, and even at this time the mild character of Constantius Chlorus, its governor, made it at least comparatively a place of peace while the storm raged in its fury over the greater part of the empire. It would appear, from a story related of this prince, that he admitted Christians among his servants, in spite of the imperial edicts. Wishing to test which of the Christians at his court were really good and honest men, he gave out one day that those who were willing to do sacrifice to the gods might remain with him, but that others would be dismissed his service. Some complied with his orders, and others preferred to obey God rather than man. When he had thus distinguished between them, Constantius retained those who had been faithful to their religion, but dismissed the perverts, "judging that those would never be faithful to their prince, who had thus readily become traitors to their God." This proof of wisdom and humanity was probably shown when Constantius was in Gaul, a country which was also under his government. Both in Gaul and Britain Constantius resisted the persecuting edicts of the Emperor Diocletian. "When the churches were being persecuted throughout the rest of the world," he "alone granted the Christians to worship without fear." The Christian Father, Lactantius, called, for the elegance of his writings, "the Christian Cicero," who

lived at the time of the persecution, relates that the governor conformed so far to the imperial commands as to destroy the churches, "mere walls, which could be restored; but preserved in safety the temple of God, which is in man." The great ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius, who was also a contemporary, adds his testimony to the mild policy of Constantius, so that the vague mention of many martyrdoms in Britain, which we find in later and less trustworthy authors, may be put aside as unhistorical.

It is quite possible, however, that in some places zealous pagans may have striven to carry out the emperor's edicts in spite of the known will of the governor. It would, indeed, be strange if, at a time when the Christians were under a ban, some isolated acts of this description did not occur. Two martyrs, Aaron and Julius, are said to have suffered at Caerleon, the old town on the Usk, which has still many traces of its former greatness. But the most notable and best authenticated instance of persecution is the martyrdom of St. Alban, near the town which now bears his name, but was then called Verulamium. A local tradition of this event may be traced up to the year 429, when St. German is said to have visited his tomb and there deposited with his relics the relics of other martyrs. The date given for the martyrdom varies, but it is generally referred to the Diocletian persecution, and it would savour of critical rashness rather than of acumen to reject the tradition altogether. The day mentioned in the martyrologies is June 22, and if the martyrdom happened at the time

of this persecution, the year would be 304. In the time of Bede (731), there was a church at the place of the martyrdom dedicated to the saint, which had already the reputation of being a place where miracles were worked. St. German is said to have built a church in Auxerre, which he dedicated to St. Alban. Alban has been always regarded as Britain's proto-martyr, but it must be remembered that he is not the earliest of her recorded saints, as previously to him lived St. Mellon, who left Britain when young, and became bishop of Rouen, according to the legend[1] (A.D. 256–314). His tomb is still shown in the ancient crypt of St. Gervais, Rouen. His name is preserved in Monmouthshire by a village and church near Cardiff.

A detailed narrative is given by the historian Bede of St. Alban's martyrdom. He was yet a pagan when a Christian clergyman fled to him, and was received into his house. He noticed that this man was occupied continually in prayer and watching day and night; and the sight, aided by the Divine grace, so worked on his heart that he soon became a Christian himself. When search was about to be made for his guest, he sent him away, after exchanging clothes with him, and, still further to aid his escape, gave himself up to the soldiers. He was forthwith led before the judge, and ordered to do sacrifice to the gods. On his refusal, he was scourged and led away to execu-

[1] See "Actes des Saints de Diocèse de Rouen," or for a summary "Red Dragon," xi. pp. 72–75 Mellon was born at Cardiola (? Cardiff), and converted at Rome by Pope Stephen.

tion. The soldier who was first ordered to execute him cast down his sword, refusing to obey the order, and was beheaded at the same time.

Such, stripped of its accompanying miracles, is the account given by Bede of the death of St. Alban. But the story of Britain's proto-martyr was not thought complete without a miraculous element, and we are told besides that a river dried up to let him pass through, that a spring burst forth at the top of a hill to give him drink, and that the eyes of the executioner dropped on the ground together with the martyr's head. The question naturally arises, "What are we to think of these things?" and it is a question we can hardly ignore, because the history of the British Church and the British saints is full of such stories. On the one hand, it is clearly impossible to reject as unhistorical every story with which something of the marvellous has been interweaved; otherwise we shall have to sweep away personalities of whose existence we have sure evidence. On the other hand, it is equally impossible to accept all the miracles as true, for then we should have to receive, not only miracles of beneficence, but also miracles ridiculous or even malevolent in their nature. We find, too, that these wonderful stories grow in course of time, and that an incident which when told by an eye-witness appears explicable, attains the most remarkable proportions in works written three or four centuries afterwards. The difference between such miracles and those of Our Lord and His Apostles is not one of degree, but of kind; there is no resemblance

between the two, neither do they rest on the same kind of evidence, so that their rejection cannot be used by the infidel as an argument in favour of the rejection of miracles altogether. Surely, it is not necessary to disbelieve the calm and unaffected narrative of the Gospels, because we do not accept the story that St. Teilo had a bell given him at Jerusalem, excelling the sound of an organ, and ringing every hour of its own accord, or that at St. David's baptism, a fountain sprang up and the man who held the infant saint, and who had no nostrils and eyes, had his defects supplied by sprinkling with the miraculous water. No such "miracles" as these are included among the signs which our Lord promised should follow those that believe, although among these was the miracle that impressed "the barbarous people of Melita" as well as those which were adapted to more civilised communities. It is said of Archbishop Becket, that, when one day an abbot dining at his table told him a number of ridiculous legends, he interrupted him with the scornful remark, "So these are your miracles." Surely, when we meet with similar absurdities, we may well treat them in like manner.

As both Gildas and Bede lived centuries after St. Alban's martyrdom, it is certainly not necessary to believe the miracles that we have quoted from them. At the same time, if we are honest, we must confess that events much less startling than these, but nevertheless of a miraculous nature, are occasionally related of early saints either by eye-witnesses or by those who

have received the narrative from eye-witnesses. In such cases, it would be rash to assert absolutely the falsity of such evidence. The supernatural world is all around us, our eyes may be holden, and we may sometimes be feeling after God when He is not far from us. It is not wonderful if, in the record of lives that were lived in the vivid realisation of the supernatural, we find at times well-attested incidents that are hard to fit in with our experience of the natural world.

CHAPTER III

HERESIES—THE MISSION OF ST. GERMAN.

THE profession of Christianity by Constantine, and his final victory in 324, freed the Church throughout the empire from the fear of persecution But, just as it was relieved from one danger, another presented itself in the heresy of Arius, a priest of Alexandria, which rapidly spread, and even at one time threatened to extinguish the Catholic faith The Council of Nice, at which British representatives were perhaps present, condemned this heresy. The Liturgy of our Church shows traces of this great struggle in the Nicene Creed, and in the grand hymn, commonly called the Athanasian Creed, which states clearly, yet succinctly, those necessary definitions which best secure us from vain and dangerous speculations Thanks to these bulwarks, the Church of England has never in the darkest hour of her existence denied her Lord and doubted the efficacy of His Passion, but has clung to the principles which, as we know from the indubitable testimony of such bulwarks of the church as St Athanasius and St. Hilary, found no stauncher adherents in the early days of peril than the bishops and clergy of Britain.[1]

[1] The names of British bishops are not contained in any list of those present at Nicæa, but the lists are undoubtedly incom-

The Arian heresy was succeeded by another, which grievously distressed the British Church and brought to the front one of the most notable of our early saints. About the time when Rome was taken by the Goths (409), and when Britain—distracted by the irruption of the Picts and Scots and weakened by the withdrawal of the imperial legions—for a short space suffered, rather than enjoyed, independence, a British monk, named Morgan, put forth

plete. Constantine pressed *all* the bishops of the Church to be present and paid the expenses of such as came, and his connexion with Britain would have had influence upon the bishops of the British Church. Eusebius, however, does not mention Britain, though he speaks of Spain as the western extremity; and the decrees of the Council are said to have been sent to the West by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, through the Roman presbyters, Victor and Vincentius.

St. Athanasius says (*Epist. ad Jovian. Imp.*):—"This faith all the fathers who assembled in Nicaea confessed; and all the Churches in every place concur with it; those of Spain, Britain, and Gaul, . . . and the Churches of the West, except a few that hold with Arius. For we have ascertained by trial the judgment of all the foregoing Churches, and we have letters." The same father says, regarding his acquittal by the Council of Sardica (347), "more than 300 bishops concurred with those who gave the decision in our favour, from the provinces of Egypt . . . . Gaul, and Britain." The presence of British bishops at this council is doubtful, as Athanasius' words may merely imply that they afterwards intimated their agreement.

St. Hilary writes in 358, from exile in Phrygia, "to his most beloved and most blessed brothers and fellow bishops of Germany . . . . . and of the provinces of Britain," and congratulates them that they have remained "undefiled in the Lord and unhurt by all contagion of detestable heresy."—See Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 9, etc.

his doctrines. He had left his native land for Rome, and had changed his name for the Greek equivalent, Pelagius, the latter meaning "*born of*, or *belonging to, the sea*," a translation of the Welsh "Morgan." His teaching, which is controverted in the IX. Article of our Church, was that "original sin standeth only in the following of Adam." "God made me," he said, "but if I am made righteous, it is my own work." He was chiefly supported by Cœlestius, a monk from Ireland, and a bishop named Julianus, and was opposed in trenchant writings by St. Augustine, who, while he attacked his doctrines, expressed his personal regard for Pelagius himself. The heresy was introduced into Britain by Agricola, son of Severianus, a Pelagian bishop, and speedily spread to so great an extent that the orthodox clergy, unable to cope with it themselves, were forced to summon aid from the sister-church of Gaul.[1]

In response to their request, two leading divines were sent over (429),—German, bishop of Auxerre, a Breton by birth, who therefore would be able to speak the British tongue; and Lupus, bishop of Troyes, brother of that Vincent of Lerins whose "Commonitorium," or "Reminder on behalf of the Antiquity and Universality of the Catholic Faith against the profane novelties of all Heretics," is still regarded as a work of standard authority. The

[1] A work written about this time by a Briton named Fastidius, who is called by one authority a British bishop, and who was inclined towards Semi-Pelagianism, is still extant.—Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 16.

appointment of the two bishops seems to have been made by the Gallican Church, and subsequently to have received the sanction of Pope Celestine.

No more imposing figure than that of St. German appears in all the history of the Ancient British Church. Saint, soldier, orator, and theologian, he was in all respects a born leader of men. As reformer and administrator, he played a great part in Britain, and the impression of his character and ability which he left behind him is testified by the fact that nearly all the institutions of his age, and even of the age immediately succeeding, are ascribed to his foundation.[1] His appearance, indeed, marks an era; from his time, if not from his influence, may be traced the first germs in this country of what afterwards was to develop into the parochial system.[2] Before this time the clergy lived at centres in communities with their bishop, and went from them on missions through the country. In the interval between German's first and second mission, a council of the Gallican Church, held at Vaison (442), enacted that "country parishes should have presbyters to preach in them as well as the city churches," and the theory that the new system

[1] This may appear a strong statement; but various legends and authorities have attributed to him the foundation of Oxford and Cambridge, of the monasteries of Llancarfan and Llantwit Major, the consecration of St. Dyfrig as first Bishop of Llandaff, the introduction of the Gallican liturgy into Britain, as well as other less impossible reforms.

[2] See Rees's "Welsh Saints," p. 131; and Pryce's "Ancient British Church," p. 124.

was introduced into Britain soon afterwards is corroborated by the fact that the oldest existing parish churches in Wales date their earliest foundation from the time of St. German Altogether, there are eight old churches in Wales which bear the name of St. German,[1] and, inasmuch as it has been established pretty clearly that it was not in early times the custom in the British Church to dedicate a church to a patron saint, these churches bearing his name are

[1] The churches, the foundations of which may be ascribed to him, are, according to Rees ("Welsh Saints," p. 131), Llanarmon-in-Ial, Denbighshire; Llanarmon Dyffryn Ceiriog, in the same county; St. Harmons, Radnorshire, and Llanfechain, Montgomeryshire. The chapels dedicated to him are Llanarmon under Llangybi, Carnarvonshire; Bettws Garmon under Llanfair Isgaer, in the same county; Capel Garmon under Llanrwst, Denbighshire; and Llanarmon Dyffryn Iach under Llandegfan, also in Denbighshire. *Llan* means "church," but was at first applied to churches and chapels indiscriminately. *Bettws* is a designation for chapels. *Capel* is also used for chapel, but rarely applies to parochial chapels, being used chiefly for chapels-of-ease and decayed oratories. Bettws y Coed, the artists' haunt, is "the Chapel in the Wood", Capel Curig, near Snowdon, is the "Chapel of Curig," or Cyrique, Llanberis, on the other side of the mountain, is the "Church of Peris." Similarly, Llanarmon is St. Garmon's or "St. German's Church"; Bettws Garmon and Capel Garmon are "St. German's Chapels." According to Pryce ("Ancient British Church"), the ancient cathedral of the Cornish Britons, as well as that in the Isle of Man, also Germansweek in Devonshire, were dedicated in St. German's name; Selby Abbey in the joint names of St Mary and St. German. A church, recently built in Cardiff, has been dedicated to the same saint. The name of Lupus, in its Welsh form, Bleiddian, is preserved in the names of two parishes near Cardiff; Llanfleiddian Fawr (or Llanblethian, as it is now corruptly spelt), and Llanfleiddian Fach, or St. Lythan's.

supposed to have been founded by him. The same rule may also be generally applied to the numerous other Welsh churches of old foundation, all of which bear the names of local saints. The custom of dedicating churches to saints was introduced about A.D. 717, subsequently to which, for many years, the popular saint was St. Michael. The large number of Welsh churches dedicated to St. Mary belong to a still later period.[1]

As we have contemporary records of St. German's life, the history of his two visits to Britain may be accepted as true in the main. The two bishops preached daily, not confining their energies to the churches, but going forth into the streets and fields, arguing and exhorting, confuting error and establishing the truth. At a council held at St. Alban's (A.D. 429), in spite of the pomp and show of the Pelagians, who appeared "conspicuous for riches, glittering in apparel, and supported by the flatteries of many," the eloquence of St. German and his friend so prevailed that the assembled multitude broke forth into loud applause, and could scarcely refrain from using violence towards their adversaries, who yielded in confusion. About this time, we are told, an irruption of Saxons and Picts carried dismay into the hearts of the Britons. So great was the admiration of the Britons for the two bishops, that they invited them into their camp. It was just before Lent. It

[1] See Rees, "Welsh Saints," where the whole subject of Welsh churches and chapels and their dedications is elaborately treated.

was no uncommon circumstance in those times for baptism to be deferred to a late age, not from any scruples respecting the lawfulness of infant baptism, for no one dreamed of such until comparatively recent times, but owing to an impression of the awful character of sin committed after baptism. All during Lent the bishops preached daily; and, at the same time, "a church was prepared with boughs for the feast of the resurrection of our Lord, and so fitted up in that martial camp as if it were in a city." This account of church-building explains, what may otherwise seem difficult, how St. German, who was only a foreigner, could build eight churches in Wales. There was, indeed, little difficulty in building churches at that time. Among the Britons, churches were generally built of wood, and covered with reeds or straw; stone churches were very rare. At Easter crowds came to be baptised by St. German and St. Lupus. The army advanced, "wet with the baptismal water," and German offered himself as their general. "He picked out some light-armed soldiers, viewed the country round about, and observing, in the way by which the enemy was expected, a valley encompassed by hills, in that place he drew up his raw troops, himself acting as their general. A multitude of fierce enemies presently appeared, and as soon as those that lay in ambush saw them approaching, German, bearing in his hands the standard, ordered his men all in a loud voice to repeat his words. The enemy were advancing carelessly, thinking that they were about to surprise the

Britons, when the priests cried three times, 'Alleluia.' A universal shout of the same words followed, and the clefts of the hills repeated the echo from all sides." The enemy were struck with panic and fled in disorder, casting away their arms; many were drowned in crossing the neighbouring river. The Britons did not lose a single man, and were inactive spectators of their victory. The scattered spoils were gathered up, and the pious soldiers rejoiced in the success which Heaven had granted them.

The story of this battle is given by an author who wrote less than fifty years after St. German's death,[1] but it is fair to state that the battle is not mentioned by any Welsh authority. However, the existence of the names Maes garmon (the field of German), near Mold, and of Llanarmon (St. German's church), close to the same place, gives partial corroboration to the narrative. In St. German's second visit, he was accompanied by Severus, afterwards bishop of Trier. He died shortly afterwards, when he was at Ravenna, interceding with the emperor for the people of Armorica.

[1] Constantius, a presbyter of Lyons, who was a contemporary of German for many years. Bede borrows from him his account of German's mission.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

The Church's one foundation
Is Jesus Christ our Lord;
She is His new creation
By water and the Word:
From heaven He came and sought her
To be His holy Bride,
With His own Blood He bought her,
And for her life He died.

WE often sing these inspiriting words in church; but it is doubtful whether all who utter them really understand the nature of the one Catholic Church of which they are singing. Are we English and Welsh Churchmen members of that Catholic Church which is "founded upon apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone"? The Church of Rome informs us that we are not, that we are merely a schism, a broken branch, which lacks sustenance through its severance from the parent trunk. Others again tell us that external unity is of little importance, that what we need is an inner spiritual unity; but, unfortunately for this latter theory, we find that the absence of external unity fosters jealousies, rivalries, schisms, and other things not "expedient," nor calculated to impress

scoffers with any conviction of our spiritual unity; and, moreover, history shows us that the tendency of small, separate bodies is to lose eventually some of the cardinal principles of the Christian faith. German Rationalism is a terrible warning of the danger of rejecting antiquity and losing sight of the unity and perpetuity of the Catholic Church throughout the ages. In this matter history simply corroborates the teaching of our Divine Master Himself. Nowadays there are many divisions, each one professing to have the truth; but the Church which He founded was to be one and indivisible. Nothing can be stronger or more emphatic on this point than His Intercessory Prayer: "Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; That *they all may be one;* as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

The question, then, which this and some following chapters attempt to answer is this,—*Are we one with the early British saints?* If we can prove that we are, we may rest contented, for we cannot doubt that those whom Origen and other early doctors of the Church owned as brethren were members of the one true Catholic Church for which our Lord prayed. In the Apostles' Creed we profess our belief in "the Communion of Saints." Do we possess this communion or fellowship? It is an important question, and one which ought to be weighed with seriousness and attention.

The more we examine the constitution and customs of the ancient British Church, the more strongly we shall be forced to the conclusion that its proper representative is to be found in the Church in Wales at the present day, and not in either the Church of Rome or any of the Protestant Nonconformist bodies. On the one hand, it never acknowledged more than a harmless primacy on the part of the bishop of Rome, and even carried on for centuries the struggle for independence against his subsequent claims of dominion; on the other hand, it acknowledged the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. These two cardinal points of agreement, if substantiated, are sufficient to establish the identity we assert. Without doubt, certain customs and practices prevailed which are not found among us now, but these are simply such as may naturally be expected in a different era, involving different circumstances. Such, for example, is the practice of monasticism, which in the later days of the independent British Church was a powerful institution, productive at that time of great good. But these minor points do not affect the main issue, although perhaps our tendency now is to look with too much suspicion upon practices of other ages or countries in which we do not share.

It will be impossible to do more now than establish the existence of episcopacy in the British Church from the earliest times. Afterwards the early history of the Welsh bishoprics may be entered upon, the Welsh monastic system be considered,

and, finally, the story be told how centuries before Luther fastened up his Theses, or

> Bluff Harry broke into the spence
> And turn'd the cowls adrift,

Dunawd and his patriotic successors carried on a brave combat against papal tyranny and usurpation.

Until the fourth century, we have no trustworthy statements in old historians respecting the constitution of the British Church. There is, indeed, a story of a regular division of Britain into dioceses in the time of King Lucius. There were twenty-eight cities in Britain (so the story runs), each of which had a pagan flamen, and three of them—London, York, and Caerleon,—had arch-flamens. Fagan and Dyfan established in these cities bishops in the place of flamens and archbishops in the place of arch-flamens. But all history is opposed to this story, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, who is its original authority, seems to have written his history on the theory, that the more wonderful the story the more likely it was to be true. It has not much more foundation, indeed, than the history of Robinson Crusoe. With old Fuller, we may say that "his flamens and arch-flamens seem flams and arch-flams, even notorious falsehoods." In the fourth century, however, we have evidence of the most positive kind of the existence of an episcopal church. British bishops attended the council of Arles, A.D. 314, and of Ariminum, A.D. 359. It is not certain whether they were present or not at

Nice, A.D. 325, and at Sardica, A.D. 347;[1] but, if not, they certainly gave in their adhesion to the decrees of the first council, and to the acquittal of St. Athanasius by the second. At Arles, three bishops attended—Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius of Caerleon (Colonia Londinensium in the entry, probably a mistake for Colonia Legionensium).[2] York, London, and Caerleon were the capitals of the three Roman provinces, Maxima Cæsariensis, Britannia Prima, and Britannia Secunda. It has been thought[3] that Adelfius may be the same as the Welsh Cadfrawd, but the grounds of the identification are very slight. Besides the three bishops, Sacerdos, a priest (presbyter), and Arminius, a deacon, attended the council. At the council of Ariminum a number of British bishops attended, as may be inferred from the statement that, although the Aquitanians, Gauls, and Britons generally declined the hospitality of the emperor, three of the British bishops, were induced, from poverty, to accept it, rather than burden private individuals.[4] The canons

[1] See Chapter iii. note [2] Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 7.

[3] Rees, "Welsh Saints," p. 100, cf. p. 93. Cadfrawd was "a saint and bishop," but his exact date is uncertain, though certainly very early. One authority places him about the beginning of the third century; Rees places him early in the fourth.

[4] Sulpicius Severus, writing about A.D. 400, says: "this (viz., to use the emperor's hospitality) seemed unseemly to our bishops, and to the Gauls and Britons . . . Three only from Britain, through poverty, availed themselves of the public provision."—Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 10.

of the Council of Arles still exist, and are such as might be set forth by a council of Anglican bishops. They recognise the existence of the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; order that at the consecration of a bishop no less than three bishops shall be present,[1] and settle various other matters of discipline according to the usage of Catholic Christendom. There is not the slightest doubt that the constitution of the British Church in the fourth century corresponded exactly to the constitution of the Church in Wales at the present day.

But if, owing to the paucity of recorded facts, we have no positive statements respecting the existence of an episcopal constitution in the British Church earlier than this time, we have at least strong presumptive evidence that episcopal order was recognised in Britain from the earliest period. No other form of Church government than the episcopal has ever been proved to have existed in the Catholic or Orthodox Church from the time of the Apostles downward; and if Britain had varied in its practice from other Christian churches, some mention of the fact might be expected from Tertullian, Origen, and the other fathers and historians who alluded in the earliest times to the Church in Britain. The evidence regarding the practice of the Catholic churches in general cannot be lightly put aside. Ignatius, himself bishop of Antioch in A.D. 69, and a disciple of the Apostle St. John, bears emphatic testimony to the existence and

[1] Canon xx. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 7.

authority of three orders in the Church. Irenæus (born *circ.* A.D. 130), a disciple of the martyr Polycarp, who himself was a disciple of St. John, traces the descent of the bishops of Rome from the Apostles. No doubt, when the Apostles were bishops, the Greek words for bishop and priest, or elder, were used synonymously for the second order, but no valid argument for presbyterianism can be drawn from this, because in the New Testament itself we find Timothy and Titus exercising the episcopal office, and we find that each of the seven Churches of Asia had its "angel," a word of the same import as apostle. All that is proved by such objections is that bishops were first called apostles or angels, and then, from respect to the original twelve, those titles were dropped, and the more modest title of bishop (overseer) was taken instead. But even those who contest this point agree that in the second century episcopacy was definitely established. 'Nulla ecclesia sine episcopo' (There is no Church without a bishop), "has," confesses the sceptic Gibbon, "been a fact as well as a maxim since the time of Tertullian and Irenæus," so that it would be hard indeed for any one to contend that the British Church was ever other than episcopalian, as it is this day.[1]

[1] Some have supposed that the Columban Church, of which the abbot of Iona was the head, was a presbyterian Church. As this Church was closely related to the British Church, it may be well to state that this theory is refuted by the life of Columba, written by Adamnan, ninth abbot of Iona. He relates two instances of the exercise of episcopal functions, in which he clearly treats them as the exclusive privileges of the

The ancient British Church then, we may conclude, was not a presbyterian body, neither did it consist of a number of independent congregations; it was one united whole—united in itself, united with the Catholic Church throughout the world, and united with its Divine Lord as the Church's Head; it repeated with us the same creeds; it lived its supernatural life on earth through its union with its Master, and by the same faith and the same sacraments as we. "Esto perpetua" (May it live for ever) was the prayer of Coleridge for the Church of England, and, while we join therein, we here in Wales pray for the perpetuity of that Church for which Alban shed his blood, for which German fought the battle of orthodoxy, and Dunawd fought the battle of independence from alien rule.

episcopacy. Columba himself recognised the superior grade of a bishop who visited him. It is true that the bishops were under the monastic rule, and in respect of *jurisdiction* were subject to the presbyter-abbot of Iona: but in virtue of their *orders* they were superior to their abbot. They alone could ordain, celebrate the eucharist with the pontifical rite, and fulfil the other exclusively episcopal functions; and they received the honour due to their office. It may be added that in the British Church there is no certain trace of bishops being subject to abbots, even in respect of jurisdiction.—See Skene, "Celtic Scotland," ii. pp. 42-44; 94-5. Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 143.

CHAPTER V.

THE WELSH BISHOPRICS.

THE invasion of the English flooded Britain again with the darkness of Paganism, and only in the north and west did the light of Christianity continue to shine. The bishopries of London and York became for the time extinct, while in the west the see of Caerleon appears to have shared the fate of the Roman province, with which it was, probably, co-extensive, and to have been broken up into a number of smaller bishopries. Besides the bishops of these, however, there were, perhaps, other bishops who had no settled dioceses, but generally filled the position of abbots over monasteries. Among such, possibly, was Tudwal, who is mentioned as a bishop in Carnarvonshire, and whose name remains in that of an island off the coast of that county, in which is a ruined chapel dedicated to the saint. Other bishops of this class were Cynin, who lived at Llangynin, in Carmarthenshire, Gistlianus of Menevia, and Paulinus of Tygwyn. Paulinus, or Pawl Hên, was a man of some note. A native of North Britain, he came south and studied under Illtyd, at his celebrated college of Llantwit Major. Afterwards, he himself founded a monastery at Tygwyn ar Dâf, or Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, and gained great repute as a

teacher, so that David and Teilo were among his students. Very few, probably, who, after passing through the wild mountainous scenery on the Merthyr and Brecon Railway, west of Tal-y-llyn, look out on the gentle Llyn Safaddan, know that the little church of Llangors, hard by, is dedicated to this saint. His name is also preserved in Capel Peulin, near Llanddewi Brefi. Not very far from Llanddewi, also, in the parish of Caio, at Pant-y-Polion, a stone used to stand, which has been supposed to mark the place of his burial. The inscription, written in bad Latin verse, may be rendered: -"One who kept the faith, and ever loved his country, Here Paulinus lies, a most pious observer of justice." The stone is now preserved on the estate of Dolau Cothi. Paulinus is mentioned as attending the celebrated synod of Llanddewi Brefi shortly before A.D. 569.

Of the settled bishoprics, the foundation of Menevia, or St. David's, is usually ascribed to the illustrious saint whose name has superseded the old name of the place, but, as has been mentioned, the name of an earlier bishop has been preserved. St. David is said to have died in A.D. 601.

The see of Llandaff was founded through the influence of Dyfrig, or Dubricius, who resided there as a suffragan bishop, and the liberality of the prince of Glamorgan, Meurig ab Tewdrig, who is said to have endowed the see. This prince also founded the church of Merthyr Tewdrig, now called Mathern, in memory of his father, Tewdrig, slain there in battle against the heathen Saxons. The date of St. Dyfrig's

death is given by the "Annales Cambriæ" and "Liber Landavensis" as A.D. 612. He had previously resigned the see, and been succeeded by St. Teilo, who is also accounted a founder.

About the same time, a bishopric was founded at Llanbadarn Fawr, near Aberystwith, by St Padarn, a native of Brittany (Armorica). He studied under Illtyd, at Llantwit Major, and afterwards founded a monastery and a bishopric at the place called after him, Llanbadarn Fawr (St. Padarn's Church the Greater). His history is obscure. There were three others named Paternus, two of whom were bishops of Vannes, and one a bishop of Avranches, but Padarn of Wales must be distinguished from his namesakes. He is styled in the Triads one of the three blessed visitors of the isle of Britain. The others were Dewi (St. David) and Teilo. "They were so called because they went as guests to the houses of the noble, the plebeian, the native, and the stranger, without accepting either fee or reward, or victuals or drink; but what they did was to teach the faith in Christ to every one without pay or thanks.[1] Besides which, they gave to the

[1] For a like example of disinterestedness on the part of early Celtic Christians, see Bede ("Historia Ecclesiastica," iii. 27), who relates that many Englishmen, who had retired to Ireland in the time of the bishops Finan and Colman, and had devoted themselves there to a monastic life or to study, were very hospitably treated. "The Irish willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, all gratuitously" (about A.D. 664). The libellous statements of the vulgar school of sceptics with respect to the early Christians are refuted by passages such as these.

poor and needy gifts of their gold and silver, their raiment and provisions."

St. Padarn was succeeded as bishop by Cynog, who afterwards became bishop of Menevia. The bishopric of Llanbadarn lasted at least until 720, for it is mentioned at that date in the Welsh Chronicles. It is supposed to have been incorporated with St. David's, in consequence of the murder of Idnerth, the last of its bishops, by the people.

The bishopric of St. Asaph, or Llanelwy, was founded by St. Kentigern, who died A.D. 612,[1] and received its later name from its second bishop, Asaf, a disciple of Kentigern. Kentigern, or Cyndeyrn, was born in North Britain, and from his good qualities was styled Mwyngu, corrupted into St. Mungo.[2] He founded also the see of Glasgow. He was driven from his northern see by the king, Morken, and retired to Wales, where he founded the bishopric of Llanelwy. He was recalled to Scotland by Rederech, or Rhydderch Hael,[3] the prince of the Strathclyde Britons, and, resuming his bishopric, founded a church at Glasgow, where the cathedral now stands. His tomb is still pointed out in the magnificent crypt. The cathedral, famous for its preservation by the citizens of Glasgow

[1] "Annales Cambriæ." Skene ("Celtic Scotland," ii. 197) gives evidence in support of 603 as the more probable date.

[2] Mwyngu is derived from the Welsh *Mwyn*, amiable, and *Cu*, dear; Cyndeyrn from *Cyn*, chief, and *teyrn*, lord.

[3] Hael means "the Liberal." This prince obtained his throne as a result of the battle of Ardderyd, fought at Arthuret, near Carlisle, in which the Christian party of Strathclyde triumphed over the pagan party, A.D. 573.

from the destructive zeal of the Reformers, still bears his name. Three miracles ascribed to him are yet kept in memory by the tree, the bird, and the fish with a ring in its mouth, which form the armorial bearings of the city.

The first bishop of Bangor was Deiniol Wyn, son of the celebrated Abbot Dunawd. He founded the monastery of Bangor Deiniol, or Bangor Fawr, and the munificence of the Prince Maelgwn Gwynedd made this the centre of a new see. Deiniol died in A.D. 584, and was buried in the isle of Bardsey.

The five bishopries corresponded fairly to the principalities of the time of their erection—St. David's including Dyfed, with part also of Cardiganshire, and at different times other districts also; Llandaff including Gwent (Monmouthshire) and Morganwg (Glamorgan); Llanbadarn being the diocese for Ceredigion and embracing the north of Cardiganshire with parts of Brecknockshire, Radnorshire, and possibly Montgomeryshire; Llanelwy including Powys and the district of Perfeddwlad; and Bangor corresponding to Gwynedd. Besides these sees, there are also traces of a few others. At Llanafan Fawr, in Breconshire, there is an ancient inscription in Latin, signifying, "Here lies St. Afan, bishop." It is supposed that this place was for a short time the centre of a bishopric, which was afterwards merged in the see of Llanbadarn. Tradition mentions among the British bishops who were present at the conference with St. Augustine, a bishop of Morganwg, distinct from the bishop of Llandaff, and also a bishop of Wig,

and a bishop of Caerfawydd or Hereford. The first is supposed to have had his seat at Margam, in Glamorganshire. Wig, or Weeg, was in Archenfield, on the Wye, in Herefordshire.[1]

[1] Iolo MSS. p. 548. See also p. 122, *fo l.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE WELSH BISHOPRICS—ST. DAVID.

"THE world knows nothing of its greatest men," says Artavelde, in Sir Henry Taylor's beautiful, but much-neglected drama, and the line occurred to me in a somewhat different sense than it is there used, when I sought for materials for a life of St. David. That he was bishop of Menevia, or St. David's, is certain; but when particulars of his life and labours are asked for, it is difficult to separate fact from romance. As we know of Shakespeare that he lived, wrote, and died, but can gather little else from the mass of stories that have gathered around his name, save the facts that he married, bought some houses, and left a will, we can scarcely be surprised that in the case of a saint of such antiquity little trustworthy evidence is left. After reading the legend of St. David's life by Rhyddmarch, and its Welsh summary (which I read in a translation), I did not give up in despair the task of ascertaining the truth, as there still remained the life by Giraldus Cambrensis, from whom, as being an author of repute, I expected a narrative of more historic pretensions. But after wading through several pages of the Mediæval Latin in which that life is written, I am constrained to confess that I found

nothing which can be produced as serious history. What is given as such by professed historians and encyclopædists is simply a digest of the legends, deprived of their marvellous incidents, and made sufficiently dull to satisfy the requirements of the modern student. What we have left of St. David is merely *magni nominis umbra*, the ghost or shadow of a great name.

The reason for rejecting these legends does not lie in the miracles with which they abound: the age of miracles was not past in St. David's day; I doubt if it is past now, though men shut their eyes and give the most ingenious explanations of miraculous occurrences. The lives of General Gordon and of many great saints of modern times contain miracles more truly wonderful than any found in the legends of St. David. The legends must be rejected because they are utterly absurd; the miracles are sometimes as comical as those of the modern spiritualists. Their writers sought for the stories which were abroad, and wrote them down, possibly with improvements of their own, and the results are equally amusing and disastrous. Giraldus, in his preface, appears to feel his awkward position: he apologises for having written the life of St. David. He did not wish to do it himself, but he was forced by his fellow-canons (*fratrum tamen et concanonicorum victus instantiâ*), so he pleads. The life is divided into ten lessons, with a collect at the close, and a responsion for the choir, showing that it was written for the purpose of being read in church, probably on the feast-day of the saint. So,

too, the life by Rhyddmarch ends with two collects. It must be acknowledged in fairness to the Church of Rome that it was at first opposed to the reading of these lessons, and would admit nothing but the canonical Scriptures, but was at last forced to give way, in compliance with the custom of the Gallican Church, which the British Church followed. St. Bernard in one of his letters allows the practice, but objects to newly-composed lives being written, unless they were the composition of men of eminent authority and couched in a dignified style. In the Middle Ages it was a matter of some importance for an author to write a life which was read in church, as he thereby became classical. "The new reading of an old life," says Professor Brewer, "proved an era in the literary career of a Mediæval author not to be forgotten."

On the whole, the life of St. David by Rhyddmarch which Giraldus merely rewrote, is a very favourable specimen of these legends. It is at least better than that of St. Cadoc of Llancarfan, who, according to his legend, after proving a general pest to his neighbourhood by causing various people who offended him to be swallowed up by the earth, to be blinded, or to disappear like smoke, was carried on a Palm Sunday, in a white cloud, to the city of Beneventum, in Italy, where he was made bishop and was martyred. Rhyddmarch, or Ricemarchus, was bishop of St. David's from A.D. 1088 to 1098. He says that he collected his materials from ancient manuscripts, chiefly belonging to St. David's, which

he "had gathered together that they should not be lost, sucking most subtlely, as with the mouth of a bee, from a flowery garden of thick herbs, for the glory of the Father, and the benefit of others." He proceeds: "And with respect to myself, who am named Ricemarchus, and who, however rashly, have applied to these things the capacity of my scanty wit, may they, whoever shall read them with a devout mind, afford assistance by their prayers, that as the clemency of the father, like that of the spring, has granted a little flower of intelligence in the summer heat of the flesh, it may at length bring me, with ripened works to the fruit of a good harvest, the vapours of concupiscence being dried up before the end of my course. So that when the reapers, having separated the tares of the enemy, shall fill the barns of the heavenly country with the most valuable sheaves, they may place me as a little sheaf of the latest harvest in the hall of the heavenly gate, to behold God for ever, who is over all, God blessed for ever and ever." It is touching in the midst of the bad Latin and the viciously-florid style to see the same feelings stirring the writer as now stir mankind —the desire of leaving his name to live among his fellows and the higher desire of reaching at last the realities of the presence of God.

St. David (so the legends run) was the son of Sandde, a chief of Cardigan, and of Non, otherwise called Nonneta, or Nemeta. Before his birth his father was warned in sleep by an angel that on the next day, having killed a stag, near the River Teify, he

should find there a fish and a swarm of bees with their honey. These should symbolise the nature of the son that he should have, the fish showing his life of abstinence, the honeycomb his wisdom, and the stag his power over the Old Serpent, the Devil. So, too, it came to pass. Before his birth and at his baptism wondrous things were done, and when he was yet young his fellow-scholars marvelled at him, for they saw a pigeon with a golden beak playing about his mouth, and teaching him, and singing to him the hymns of God. So it came to pass that he went to Paulinus, and in a certain island was taught by him in "three parts of reading." But Paulinus fell blind, and he called his disciples to inspect his eyes. When it came to David's turn, he refused, for during ten years in which he had been learning the Scriptures from him, he had never ventured to look up at his face. But at Paulinus's request he touched and blessed his eyes, and they were immediately restored.

On a certain day David, with Aidan, Eliud, and Ismael, and a large number of faithful disciples, assembled and went to a place which had been pointed out to him, named Glyn Rosyn. Here he was opposed by a Scot or Irishman,[1] named Boia, and his wife, and they sought to slay David and his

[1] The word "Scot" originally signified "Irishman." The Scots from Ireland settled in what is now Argyleshire and thereabout, and eventually gave their name to the whole of North Britain. The ancient name of Scotland was Alban, and its natives were Britons and Picts.

disciples; but a fever seized the party on the way, so that they could not go further, and when they returned, behold! all their cattle and sheep and horses were dead. So they submitted themselves and gave to St. David the whole of Glyn Rosyn for a perpetual possession; and David said to Boia, "Your cattle will be restored to life." And so it came to pass. Yet did not these wicked ones cease to vex David; but at last they were slain, and fire came from heaven and consumed their cattle.

So, being freed from the malice of their enemies, David and his disciples built a great monastery. A fountain of water also appeared in answer to David's prayer, for in the summer there was lack of water: as, too, there was no wine in the country for the Holy Eucharist, the water was turned into wine.

David also gave a little bell to Aidan, who sailed to Ireland, but he forgot to take the bell with him, and he sent a messenger to David, saying, "Send me the little bell." Then David said to the messenger, "Go, boy, to thy master." And when he returned, he found that the bell had reached Aidan before him.

At the bidding of an angel, David also went to Jerusalem with Eliud or Teilo and Padarn. There he received many gifts from the Patriarch, among the rest a remarkable bell. These gifts they did not bring with them, because the carriage would have been burdensome, but after their return they found them in their monasteries.

The heresy of the Pelagians having increased, a synod was held at Brefi (now Llanddewi Brefi, not

far from Lampeter).[1] Being in a difficulty, the clergy sent for David, who at first refused to come, but when he was further importuned, assented. When he came to the synod, he refused to stand on the heap of clothes which others before had used to raise them, so that their voices might be heard, but he ordered a handkerchief to be placed on the ground, and he stood thereon. As he preached, the earth under him rose to a hill, and he was heard by all the synod; wherefore he was hailed by all archbishop. Afterwards he held another synod, called the Synod of Victory.

At last a message came to him by an angel, "The day that has long been desired is now accounted very near." He replied, "Lord, now let Thy servant depart in peace." The angel further told him that his death would take place on the 1st of March. On that day 'the city was filled at the time of cock-crowing with angelic choirs, and was musical with heavenly songs and full of the sweetest fragrance. In the morning, while the clergy were singing psalms and hymns, the Lord Jesus condescended to bestow His presence for the consolation of the father, as He had promised by the angel. When he saw Him, he fully rejoiced in spirit, and said, 'Take me with Thee.' On these words, Christ being his companion,

[1] This statement of the legends concerning the cause of the synod is probably incorrect. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 116. The canons of St. David's synods still exist, and have nothing to do with Pelagianism. For particulars of St. David's synods, see chapter xx. p. 190.

he gave up his life to God; and the angelic host accompanying him, he went to the heavenly country."

Such is an abstract of the legend of St. David. Such was the substitute which the twelfth and succeeding centuries had for the "Pilgrim's Progress" and the nineteenth century's religious novel. I have given this one specimen, as it may be interesting, and in some respects useful. It is, I fear, "poor stuff," but it perhaps after all breathes a more manly piety than much of the religious literature which some of its severest critics would condone.

It will be surmised that the dates of St. David's life are very uncertain. According to one manuscript of the old Welsh record, the "Annales Cambriæ," he was born in 458. His death is computed by Archbishop Usher to have taken place in 544. The "Annales Cambriæ," however, gives the date as A.D. 601. But, amid all this uncertainty about details of his life, there is little as to the importance of his work. The number of ancient churches which bear his name is large, and these in all probability owe, in some way or other, their foundation to his exertions. This computation is made without taking into account the subordinate churches and chapels belonging to a later age which were not founded by him, but afterwards dedicated to his memory. A list of twenty ancient churches, of which Dewi was the "owner," is given in a poem by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog, who lived between 1160 and 1230. According to Professor Rees, "in the six counties of North Wales there is not one church

that bears his name In the original diocese of Llandaff he has but two chapels, and only three in what is supposed to have been the original diocese of Llanbadarn." The results of his labours still live, and are a more valuable and durable monument to his memory than the legends by which that memory is only obscured [1]

[1] For St David's work on behalf of the Irish Church, see chapters xi and xiv

CHAPTER VII.

THE WELSH BISHOPRICS—LLANDAFF.

ADVOCATES of disestablishment and disendowment often say that the Church is a creation of the State, and that the clergy are "State-paid." Readers of the foregoing chapters have already had facts brought before them which show that the Church in Britain really preceded the State; that what some would call the child is really hundreds of years older than its mother. As regards the other statement, Church history shows us that endowments were given in early times in much the same way as they are given now,—sometimes by local princes, sometimes by private individuals, and that the figment of a national endowment is a monstrous absurdity. It furnishes us with the reason of the inequalities of revenues in various parts of England and Wales at the present day, which would not exist if the clergy were "State-paid," but are readily comprehended when we remember that each bishopric and each rectory is a separate corporation, with its special endowment, and that some consequently have had large sums given them and some small, or that some which had large sums once have lost them by acts of tyranny, each little corporation having its separate and distinct history. It may be useful, then, while considering the early history

of the diocese of Llandaff, to take some notice of the deeds of gifts contained in the "Liber Landavensis," a most interesting work compiled in the twelfth century by Geoffrey, brother of Urban, bishop of Llandaff, and containing the early history of that see.[1]

The first bishop of Llandaff was Dyfrig, or Dubricius, and the first endowment of the see is stated to have been given by Meurig, a prince of Glamorgan. The "Liber Landavensis" says:—"They granted to him, with consent of King Meurig and of the princes, clergy, and people, the episcopal see, which was founded in the district of Llandaff in honour of St. Peter the Apostle, with these boundaries:—From Henriwgunna to Rhiwffynon, and from Cynlais to the sea, the whole district between the Taff and Ely, with their fish and wears for fisheries, and its dignity free from all service, regal and secular, except only daily prayer and ecclesiastical service for his soul and for the souls of his parents, kings and princes of Britain, and of all the faithful deceased; and with its privileges, without any governor or deputy-

This work, also called the "Book of Teilo," was completed about A.D. 1133. The earlier charters which it contains, and which I have quoted and alluded to, are not to be considered as contemporary with their professed dates, but are rather embodiments of the traditions respecting the acquisition of lands by the see of Llandaff, which were generally accepted as true by that see in the twelfth century. There is evidence which makes it probable that "real materials existed for the compilation of this book." (Haddan and Stubbs, p. 147, *note*.) Even at the lowest estimate of their value, the documents show us what were the ideas of the twelfth century respecting the manner in which Church endowments were bestowed.

governor, without attendance at public courts, either within or without the district, without going on military expeditions, without keeping watch over the country, in or out of it, and with free commonage to the inhabitants of the whole diocese in fields and woods, in water and in pastures; with its court complete within itself, free and entire as a regal court; with its refuge not for any limited time, but to be perpetual —that is, that the fugitive might remain safe under its protection as long as he should wish, and with the bodies of the kings of the whole diocese of Llandaff given and committed to it for ever. The diocese to have five hundred wards, the bay of Severn, Ergyng, and Anergyng, from Mochros, on the banks of the Wye, as far as the island Terthi." Ergyng, or Archenfield, is that part of Herefordshire south-west of the Wye; Mochros is probably Moccas, nine and a half miles west-north-west of Hereford, and Terthi appears to be Barry. The boundaries given are nearly the same as those of the present diocese, with the addition of Ergyng. The king is stated to have perambulated the territory, carrying the Gospels on his back, and accompanied by "the clergy with crosses and relics in their hands, and sprinkling the holy water, together with the dust of the pavement of the church." A blessing was pronounced "on all those who should keep the alms with the aforesaid dignity of privilege and refuge, and a curse on all who should in any degree violate it, either great or small."

We are also told that Mochros was given to the church of Llandaff and its pastors for ever, by King

Meurig and the princes. Here, then, we have an account of the establishment of a diocese, and its partial endowment by a petty prince long before the *State* of England existed. It may be urged that the division was made and the endowment bestowed under *State* patronage, inasmuch as it was done by a prince; but, even if this argument be pushed to its farthest limit, the revenues so given were not considered as "national revenues" afterwards when the petty princedom fell, but still remained in the possession of the church. The terms of endowment here given are widely different from those which advocates of disestablishment insinuate when they speak of the clergy being "State paid."

Other endowments are said to have been bestowed on the see in the time of Dubricius by other princelings. The exact terms of these endowments are given, with the names of the witnesses and usually conclude with some prayer of this kind. "May peace be to those who keep it and on its violaters a curse." The following is a summary of these documents.—"King Pebiau, son of Urb, granted the manor of Garthbenni as far as the black marsh between the wood, and field and water, and the property of King Cystennyn, his father in law, beyond the River Wye, to God and Dubricius, and to Lunapeius, his cousin, for ever." This was Llangystennin Garthbenni, in Ergyng, and does not now exist. Pebiau also gave Llangerniw, with "an uncia of land," *i.e.*, about 180 acres, also "Lann Junabui." Cynvyn and Gwyddai, sons of Pebiau, gave "three uncias at

Cum Barruc," in the Golden Valley, to Dubricius. Bryttwn and Iline gave Llanvocha. Erb, king of Gwent and Ergyng, gave Cil Hal. Pebiau gave four uncias of land at Conloe, on the Wye Gwordog, during the reign of Merchwyn ap Glewys, when he "consecrated his daughter," Dulon, to be a nun, gave Dubricius four modii of land (about thirty-six acres), at Porth Tulon. Noe ab Arthur gave Penn Alun (Penaly, near Tenby) and Llandeilo-fawr with its two territories, "and likewise the territory of the Aquilensians," that is, Llanddowror.

The legend of Dubricius, inserted in the "Liber Landavensis," is merely one of the lives written to be read as lessons, and contains with other absurdities a story "adapted" from Roman legend, which reads rather strangely in its new place. Dubricius was bidden by an angel to found a church where he found a white sow with her pigs, and accordingly he built the church of Mochros, "the moor of the pigs." Little can with safety be asserted of Dubricius. He is said to have dwelt with disciples at Henllan, and afterwards at Mochros, and it is noted that Hentland, in Erchenfield, is dedicated to him, and contains traces of ancient buildings. Finally, he resigned his see and withdrew to a monastery in the island of Enlli, or Bardsey, where he died. The "Liber Landavensis" gives November 14, 612, as the date of his death. His successor in the see of Llandaff was St. Teilo. In 1120, his bones were removed from Bardsey, and buried in the cathedral of Llandaff, before the altar of St. Mary, towards the north side.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WELSH BISHOPRICS—LLANDAFF—ST. TEILO.

THE Church of Christ is pre-eminently the Church of the poor. Our divine Master came to "preach the gospel to the poor," and left the care of the poor as a perpetual charge to his followers. One of the most healthy signs in the life of the Church at the present time is the attention that is paid to this class, and the welcome that an earnest clergyman receives at their hands. It is sometimes said that the Church of England is the Church of the rich; but, although there still remain too many churches which give colour to this idea, in which the poor man must feel as an alien, yet there are many in which the equality of rich and poor in the sight of God is clearly manifested, and whither the poor throng in large numbers to claim their spiritual privileges. The Church of England supports the right of the poor, and insists upon the obligations of the rich to help their brethren who are fellow-inheritors of the same glorious privileges in Christ; at the same time it does not set the poor against the rich, after the fashion of greedy and self-interested agitators, but strives to make all realise their unity and their fellowship in obedient service to a common Master.

Whatever may have been the faults of the earlier ages of the Church, they at least did not fail in their duty in this respect. No poor laws were required while the great monasteries stood; and the great baron who oppressed his dependents trembled before the excommunication of the clergy. In the history of the Ancient British Church we find that the great check upon savage outrage on the part of the petty princes was the influence of the clergy. The times were wild and troublous. All over Europe the decay and fall of the Roman Empire produced a state of confusion in which "men's hearts failed them for fear." Earnest, religious men taught that "the end of all things was at hand." It was this feeling that drove Anthony and his fellows out into the deserts of Egypt; that led the great Arsenius, the Roman courtier, the tutor of the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius, to share with the hermits of Scetis their poverty and hunger. In Britain, the incursions of the Picts and Scots, and, subsequently, the invasion of the pagan Saxons, threw all things into confusion. The British princes, too, if we may trust the epistle which is attributed to Gildas, were noted for their oppression and vices. The only reason that has been adduced against the genuineness of that work is, that his denunciations of the Britons are too severe to have proceeded from one of that race. "Britain," he declares, "has kings, but they are tyrants; she has judges, but unrighteous ones; generally engaged in plunder and rapine, but always preying on the innocent; whenever they exert themselves to avenge or

protect, it is sure to be in favour of robbers and criminals; they have an abundance of wives, yet are they addicted to fornication and adultery; they are ever ready to take oaths, and as often perjure themselves; they make a vow, and almost immediately act falsely; they make war, but their wars are against their own countrymen, and are unjust ones; they rigorously prosecute thieves throughout their country, but those who sit at table with them are robbers, and they not only cherish but reward them." He denounces five kings by name for their crimes, which he particularises.

The legends of the saints and the records contained in such works as the "Liber Landavensis," give similar testimony to that borne by Gildas. They are full of stories of violence and oppression; and even the mythic Arthur, concerning whose virtues the Breton legends are so eloquent, figures in the lives of St. Padarn and St. Cadoc as a somewhat peccable character.[1] In all these stories the saints

[1] Was there an historical Arthur as well as a mythic one? Notwithstanding all recent efforts to answer this question in the affirmative, Professor Rhys ("Celtic Britain," pp. 231–4) is still unsatisfied. It is pretty certain that, whether Arthur existed or not, he had nothing to do with the Church in Wales. Gildas and the "Liber Landavensis" know him not; it was reserved for Geoffrey of Monmouth to connect him with St. Dyfnig, "archbishop of Caerleon," "primate of Britain, and legate of the apostolical see ("Historia Britonum," c. 12, etc.). The legendary lives of the saints vary, some being overlaid with Arthurian romance, others which treat of the same period wholly omitting Arthur's name. The legend of St. Padarn mentions him as "a certain tyrant, named Arthur." He

are represented as the champions of the weak and the oppressed. Illtyd is said even to have sheltered a hunted stag which took shelter in his cell, when pursued by the hounds of King Meirchion. The moral of many of the old legends might be found in the moral of Coleridge's great ballad :—

> He prayeth best, who loveth best
> All things both great and small :
> For the dear God, who loveth us,
> He made and loveth all.

The records of the see of Llandaff in the time of St. Dyfrig's successor, St. Teilo, give us incidentally several graphic sketches of the dark and chaotic nature of the age, and of the humanising influence of the clergy.

Three villages,—Trefcarn, Laithty Teilo, and Menechi,—are said to have been given to the see of Llandaff by Aircol Lawhir, prince of Dyfed, a district which may be roughly defined as south-west Wales.

coveted the saint's tunic, and, being refused it, attempted to take it by force, whereupon Padarn said, "May the earth swallow him up." Immediately Arthur was swallowed up as far as his chin, but upon his repentance he was pardoned and delivered from that perilous case. There are said to be remains of an ancient entrenchment in the parish of Llanbadarn Fawr, called Llys Arthur, which may have given rise to this curious story, so different in its tone from Geoffrey of Monmouth's stories, and still further from Spenser's and Tennyson's ideal portraiture. —See "Cambro-British Saints," pp. 193, 509. Arthur is not only connected in legend and romance with Dyfrig as an archbishop of Caerleon, but also with a certain Bedwin, archbishop of Gelliwig, in Cornwall.

The story of this gift is most curious, and contains nothing which in itself is improbable. While the prince held his court at Liscastell, he was much annoyed by the fact that every night some quarrel or misadventure produced by drunkenness occurred, which resulted in the death either of one of his soldiers or of some member of his own family. These deaths were attributed—and who shall say wrongly so?—to the instigation of the devil. "And when the king observed the frequent murders, he knew that it could not by any means be prevented unless by almsgiving, fasting, and the prayers of holy persons. Fasting and prayer having been made, the king commanded that, as St. Teilo then resided in his mansion at Penaly, he should quickly come to him, that he might bless him and his court, so that the accustomed murder should not take place any more therein. And after St. Teilo came to him, he blessed him and his court, and sent two of his disciples, Elywer and Fidelis, that they might serve the court by distributing meat and drink to all by measure and in sufficient quantities; and by the grace of the Holy Spirit, no murder was committed that night, nor afterwards, in his court, as had been usual." In gratitude to St. Teilo the prince made the gift of the three villages to the Church.

This story, while it shows the wildness of the times, furnishes a most agreeable picture of good sense on the part both of prince and of bishop. The Welsh branches of the Church of England

Temperance Society would not do ill if they chose St. Teilo as their patron, as he would seem to have been the earliest founder of their institution. The prevalence of drunkenness in Wales about this time is illustrated by the account we have left us in Aneurin's Gododin of the battle of Catraeth, which was lost by the Britons chiefly on account of their drunkenness

Another gift made to Llandaff in St. Teilo's time was the villages of Ciltutuc and Penclecir. These were given by a rich man, named Tudwg, in expiation of a murder. A neighbour's pigs had got into this man's fields and injured his corn, and, in attempting to kill the unfortunate swineherd, he killed a child named Tyfei, a nephew of Teilo The sad death of the child so moved the pity of the people that he was accounted one of the Welsh saints, and it has been thought that the church of Llandyfeisant, near Llandeilo Fawr, is dedicated to him. Llamphey, or Llandyfei, in Pembrokeshire, is certainly thus dedicated

Another murder was perpetrated by Meredydd, prince of Dyfed, who, "being excited by excessive rage and cruelty, killed Gufrir, one of the men of St. Teilo, in the refuge which belonged to God and to him, whilst he was before his altar." For this brutal murder penance was exacted, and pardon was only granted on promise of reformation in every respect with fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. He also bestowed lands upon the Church in sign of his repentance

One curious story, which contains certain particulars which suggest at least that it has been elaborated, represents Teilo as saving seven boys, whom their father was drowning in the River Taff because he was too poor to get food for them.

One of the chief benefactors of Llandaff in St. Teilo's time was King Iddon. One of his gifts, Llandeilo Cresseney, in Monmouthshire, was bestowed after a victory over the Saxons, granted to the prayers of St. Teilo. After one record, written in archaic Welsh, which enumerates the privileges granted to the see and secured by the Welsh princes, an entry occurs in the manuscript by a much later hand, which states that in the year 1410, on St. Teilo's day, the excommunication against the invaders of the liberties and privileges of the see was published according to custom, and within seven days afterwards certain persons who had offended in this respect went raging mad, and so remained during their lives.

The history of St. Teilo's life is very obscure. It is difficult to sift the grain of wheat from the bushels of chaff which are found in the legends. That he was a great leader in his day is certain, from the large number of villages and churches in the dioceses of Llandaff and St. David's which bear his name.

According to the legend of his life he was of noble parentage. After he grew up in age, virtue, and wisdom, he was called Elios, from the Greek word Helios, the sun; "for his learning shone as the sun by illustrating the doctrine of the

faithful." The illiterate corrupted this name into Eliud. He was educated by Dubricius, and afterwards by Paulinus, at whose college of Ty-gwyn (Whitland) he met St. David, "to whom he was united by so much love and the grace of the Holy Spirit, that in their deeds they both had the same thought with respect to what was to be done and what to be left undone." Afterwards Teilo went with David and Padarn on that wonderful pilgrimage to Jerusalem, of which mention was made in the legend of St. David; and the writer of this legend has even outdone Rhyddmarch in the miracles with which he has enriched or disfigured his narrative. Teilo being a great preacher, awakening men from the slumber of sin, received the suitable and symbolic present of a bell "more famous than great, more valuable in reality than appearance, because it exceeded every organ in sound; it condemned the perjured, it healed the sick, and it sounded every hour without any one moving it." Students of the comparative history of superstitions would do well to note the Celtic reverence for bells, which appears in this and other legends, and has been compared with the similar reverence shown by Buddhists. With all Teilo's virtues, he does not seem to have attained to the ideal of a Christian bishop, as we now conceive it, or even to the ideal of a Christian king, as exemplified by the late noble king of Spain; for if the writer of his legend is to be believed, when a plague, called the Yellow Plague (Y Fâd Felen), came upon the land, Teilo fled into Brittany with a part of his

people. His conduct, however, is justified by the interposition of an angelic vision. This yellow plague is probably historical. Maelgwn Gwynedd, the prince of North Wales, whom Gildas reproved, is said to have fallen a victim to it. The date given by the "Annales Cambriæ" is 547, but this must be wrong, and 587 would be nearer the truth. The legend of St. Teilo states that all who were seized appeared to be yellow and without blood, "and it appeared to men as a column of a watery cloud, having one end trailing along the ground, and the other above, proceeding in the air, and passing through the whole country, like a shower going through the bottom of valleys. Whatever living creatures it touched with its pestiferous blast either immediately died or sickened to death. If any one endeavoured to apply a remedy to the sick person, not only had the medicines no effect, but the dreadful disorder brought the physician, together with the sick person, to death. . . . It raged not only against men, but also against beasts."

The usual wonders are related of Teilo's stay in Brittany, but they are all surpassed by the story of the great miracle which was worked after his death, which happened at Llandeilo Fawr, in Carmarthenshire. Instead of mourning for him in a becoming manner, the clergy of three of his churches—"Penallun" (Penaly, near Tenby), Llandeilo Fawr, and Llandaff,—quarrelled, so runs the tale, as to which place should have his body. Next morning, however, they found three bodies in the place of the

one, without any difference between them. Each church, accordingly, boasted of having the true body of St. Teilo. It is easy to see how this ridiculous story originated. When the worship of the relics of saints commenced, it added lustre to a church to be able to boast of having the body of the most notable worthy of the district, and, without doubt, each of the three churches named laid claim to that honour. As the three claims could not all be genuine without a miracle, it was a happy thought on the part of some one to imagine a solution which would please everybody. The story ends with a characteristic touch on the part of its writer, who, as a Llandaff clergyman, naturally favoured his own church most. He suggests that the miracles worked at the Llandaff shrine proved that the real body had been buried there, whereas the other churches had only to boast of counterfeit, though supernatural, presentments.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WELSH BISHOPRICS—LLANDAFF—ST. OUDOCEUS—OTHER BRITISH BISHOPRICS.

THE third bishop of Llandaff was Oudoceus, who is said to have been a nephew of St. Teilo. His father was Budic, a prince of Armorica. When Teilo left his diocese on account of the yellow plague, he found his nephew already a young man of eloquence and saintly life, and on his return to Llandaff, Oudoceus accompanied him, and eventually became his successor. A dispute afterwards arose between the bishop and Prince Cadwgan, on account of an injury done by the prince to one of Oudoceus's clergy, and for a time Cadwgan excluded the bishop from his territory. Towards the end of his life, Oudoceus resigned his bishopric, and retired to an oratory which he founded at Llan Einion. The usual miracles are related by the author of the legend. The only story which is worth mentioning illustrates that love for every living thing which in early times was considered an especial mark of saintliness. One day, Prince Einion was hunting "among the rocks and woods of the River Wye," as was his wont, when the wearied stag came in its flight to where Oudoceus was, with his cloak lying on the ground.

near at hand. The stag cast itself down upon the cloak. Oudoceus pitying it, and considering that it had thus appealed to him for protection, saved it from the hunters, and the prince, struck by the strange event, is said to have made a gift of the spot to the bishop and the church of Llandaff.

Oudoceus is the last of the early bishops of Llandaff of whom any detailed information is given. The "Liber Landavensis" records many deeds of gift in subsequent years, and mentions the names of many bishops; but, although some of the stories preserved are curious, as showing the wild and troublous character of the times, and the half-savage passions of many of the Welsh princes, only restrained by their awe for the Church, most of the records are of little interest to any but the antiquary. One pathetic story is told regarding the fierce struggle which was ever going on between the Welsh and their English neighbours. An old Prince, Tewdrig, had retired from the exercise of his authority, having given up the power to his son Meurig, and was leading the life of a hermit in the picturesque valley of Tintern. But he was called forth from his retirement by the news of a Saxon invasion, and the old man, who had never known defeat himself, must of necessity come to aid his son and his people. The sight of the old king riding in front of the army animated his people, and, as they thought, terrified their enemies, who turned their backs and fled. But as their ranks were breaking, one threw a lance, and wounded him mortally, so that he lay dying, like Wolfe, in the hour of

victory. He lived to be carried as far as Mathern, and there died. His son Meurig established on the place of his death "an oratory and cemetery."

One difficult question regarding the Welsh bishoprics is whether in ancient times there existed an archiepiscopate. Analogy would seem to point to Caerleon as the seat of such, as it seems to have been the earliest bishopric, and it was the capital of the Roman province. St. David's claimed to have succeeded to the honour. However, the "Liber Landavensis" asserts a sort of archiepiscopal dignity for Llandaff, and the term "archbishop" is certainly used very loosely, for two of the earliest and best authorities, the "Annales Cambriæ" and the "Brut y Tywysogion," speak of an archbishop of Bangor. In 1125, an attempt was made at the English court and at Rome to get the authority of the see of St. David's recognised; but these efforts, afterwards renewed by Giraldus Cambrensis, were wholly abortive. On the whole, several of the best authorities are inclined to the opinion that the title of archbishop was used loosely and inaccurately, and that no Welsh see at any time had any jurisdiction over another. In the Irish Church the word archbishop was loosely used in old times.

Before leaving the subject of the early bishoprics, it is necessary to summarise the scanty knowledge we possess of British bishoprics beyond the borders of Wales. Bede mentions that British bishops, apparently from Cornwall, joined in the consecration of Ceadda to the see of York, A.D. 664. Moreover, the names and

burial-places of certain early Cornish bishops are related by historians, as, *e.g.*, St. Conoglas and St. Rumonus. At a later period we find that Kenstec, bishop of Dinnurrin, in Cornwall, acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Canterbury in the archbishopric of Ceolnoth (A.D. 833–870). The document in which he made his profession of canonical obedience still exists. Dinnurrin is conjectured to be Dingerein, the place where St. Teilo landed on his visit to King Gerennius, and which seems to be either St. Germain's or Bodmin. A British bishop of St. Germain's, a suffragan to Canterbury, whose name was Conan, is mentioned in 931. The first Saxon bishop of Cornwall appears to have come in about 950. Eventually, the see of St. Germain's was merged in that of Crediton (about 1031), and that of Crediton (including Cornwall) was transferred to Exeter by Edward the Confessor with the consent of the pope (1050).

A British see of Congresbury, afterwards transferred to Wells by Daniel, the last British bishop, is mentioned on somewhat doubtful evidence. St. Cyngar is said to have been its founder. A see of Silchester, in Hampshire, is mentioned only by the romancer, Geoffrey of Monmouth.

In the district of Strathclyde and Cumbria, embracing the south-west of Scotland and the north-west of England, there were unquestionably British bishoprics. St. Ninias, who, according to Bede, "had been regularly instructed at Rome in the faith and mysteries of the truth," founded the see of

Candida Casa (White House), now Whitherne,[1] in Galloway, and by his preaching converted the southern Picts from idolatry. He built his church of stone, a fact which was much noticed, as it was unusual among the Britons, and which got it the name of White House. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, whose friend Ninias was, and whom he had visited at Tours. The date of its foundation is fixed at 397 or thereabout, if credit is given to the story that Ninias heard of St. Martin's death while he was building it. Ninias is said to have afterwards visited Ireland and to have died there.[2]

Tradition has connected the name of a Roman missionary, Palladius, with Fordun in the Mearns. "Paldy's kirk" and "Paldy's well" preserved his memory in this Kincardineshire parish. Palladius was sent out in 431 by Pope Celestine as a bishop to the Scots of Ireland. His ill success in his mission is attested by the Irish proverb, "Not to Palladius, but to Patrick God granted the conversion of Ireland." There is no trustworthy evidence that he visited Scotland or founded any bishopric there, but his relics may have been carried to Fordun by his scholar,

> Torannan, the long famed voyager
> Over the broad shipful sea.[3]

The see of Glasgow was founded by Kentigern,

[1] Haddan and Stubbs write *Hwitherne*, Skene ("Celtic Scotland"), *Whithern*, but locally it is known as *Whithorn*.

[2] Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 3.

[3] Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 29, where the hitherto-accepted story is demolished. But, on the other hand, see

whose life has been briefly sketched before. The date of his consecration as bishop may be fixed approximately at 552.[1] After his return from Wales he is said to have placed his see for a time at Hoddam, in Dumfriesshire, a little north of the Solway, "afterwards, warned by divine revelation, justice demanding it, he transferred it to his own city Glasgow," where it had first been fixed. Mention is made of a "cemetery" at Glasgow, which had been consecrated by St. Ninias, and Kentigern may have restored the ancient church. He is said to have laboured also in more distant parts of Scotland, and traces of his labours have been detected in the dedication of churches in the upper valley of the Dee. But as not to Palladius, but to Patrick God gave success and everlasting honour among the people for whom he laboured, so not to Ninias or Kentigern did God grant to be the great saint of Scotland. An Irish missionary, Columba, whom Kentigern probably knew and met, holds a rank higher in general estimation than that of the native saints; the church of the Irish settlers which he organised was to attain a greater success and glory for missionary work and zeal than the native church of North Britain. Yet, as there were "heroes before Agamemnon," we have seen that there were in Scotland saints before

Pryce's "Ancient British Church," 187. The quotation respecting Torannan, or Terrananus, is from the metrical Calendar of Angus the Culdee, under the date June 12.

[1] Or 543, if the earlier date of his death be preferred. See before, p. 40, *note*.

Columba. His mission also was not the only one from Ireland to Scotland, though it was by far the greatest and most successful. The names of Moluag, Donnan, Comgal, and Maelruba[1] do not stir our souls with thoughts of brave work and patient endurance as does the name of Columba, yet these saints also toiled and endured. If any one be inclined to complain that modern missions are not as successful as those of earlier ages, let him remember that, though successes fill the greater space in the pages of history, the failures were far more numerous; that there was a Palladius as well as a Patrick, a Donnan the martyr as well as a Columba the abbot. What we call failures are as necessary in missionary work as successes; "one soweth and another reapeth." The Divine Master, who, sitting by Jacob's well, saw the fields "white already to harvest," did not forget the earlier labourers; sower and reaper, earth's failures and earth's successes, are, according to His promise, to "rejoice together."

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, i. 116. Moluag went to Lismore; Donnan, martyred A.D. 617, went to Egg; Comgal to Tyree, Maelruba to Applecross.

CHAPTER X.

WELSH MONASTERIES.

In the bare midst of Anglesey they show
Two springs which close by one another play;
And, "Thirteen hundred years agone," they say,
"Two saints met often where those waters flow.
One came from Penmon westward, and a glow
Whiten'd his face from the sun's fronting ray;
Eastward the other, from the dying day,
And he with unsunn'd face did always go."
Seiriol the Bright, Kybi the Dark! men said,
The seer from the East was then in light,
The seer from the West was then in shade.
Ah! now 'tis changed. In conquering sunshine bright,
The man of the bold West now comes array'd;
He of the mystic East is touched with night.

So sings and moralises, according to his custom, Matthew Arnold, who, chief among the literary men of the day, has paid attention to the literature and genius of the Welsh people from the time of the publication of his powerful work on "Celtic Literature" to his presence at the Aberdare Eisteddfod; an attention due possibly, in some part, to his early friendship with the notable Welshman, Arthur Hugh Clough.

It is curious that the poet seems to have mistaken the legend, Seiriol being the *fair*, because he was in the shade, Cybi being the *sunburnt* saint. These

two saints were two of the early Welsh abbots: Seiriol being the first principal of the monastery of Penmon, built by his brother Einion, called Brenhin, or the king, and Cybi being the founder of the important monastery at Caergybi (the city of Cybi), now better known as the great packet station of Holyhead. There, by that wild rocky coast, even now noted for the number of sea birds that build their nest in its precipitous crags, the Romans had built a station, remains of which now exist, and there Cybi, having obtained a gift of land from Maelgwn Gwynedd, founded his monastery and gathered round him his followers. A Cornishman (if his legend is to be trusted), he had travelled much about the world, first on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, then to South Wales (where the churches of Llangybi, one near Caerleon, in Monmouthshire, and the other near Llanddewi Brefi in Cardiganshire, preserve his name), afterwards to Ireland, and at last established himself in Anglesey. The church of Holyhead is on the site of the old monastery, and still bears the name of the saint.

In thinking of the monks of the Ancient British Church, we must altogether divest ourselves of the ideas we have derived from Mediæval monasticism. Tintern Abbey, and even the remains of the smaller establishments at Strata Florida, Valle Crucis, Brecon, and Neath, suggest a scale of magnificence, at least with regard to architecture, to which the old Welsh monks were strangers. Wattle and daub were the materials used by St. Columba in Iona, and the

same were probably chiefly used in Wales. Even when the church was built of stone, the building doubtless possessed few architectural pretensions. Most of the monasteries were erected in remote and wild situations, and the land had first to be reclaimed. St. Cadoc and his clergy, we are told, when about to found the monastery of Llancarvan, in Glamorganshire, had to "grub up the bushes to make plain. For in that valley there was no dry place, it being a watery moor, producing nothing but reeds, and it was full of various kinds of reptiles and snakes, except the ground round a bush, under which a great white boar usually passed its time; also in the middle of the said bush, in the upper part, a swan was accustomed to build its nest every year." In this valley Cadoc founded his college in three separate places: in the first, a monastery, built of wood; in the second, a refectory; in the third, a dormitory. Afterwards he raised a vast mound of earth for a cemetery, "in order that the bodies of the faithful might be buried around the church." He also constructed roads, raised another mound "round like a city," on which was built his "castle," called Castell Cadoc.[1] Illtyd also at Llantwit built a habitation, then, after Dyfrig had fixed the bounds of a cemetery, laid in the centre the foundation of an oratory, and surrounded all with a quadrangular stone wall and a ditch. Afterwards, to prevent encroachments of the sea, he built an embankment. He, who before had

[1] "Cambro-British Saints," vita S. Cadoci, §§ 5, 6.

been a soldier and a courtier, spent his time in hard manual labour, and his society got their subsistence by tilling and cultivating the ground. Samson, afterwards archbishop of Dôl, took his turn with the rest in watching the cornfields, and protecting them from the swarms of birds which came down, by slinging stones at them constantly throughout the day.[1]

These pictures do not suggest any magnificence of architecture, and the bitterest opponent of monasticism could not detect much luxury in clearing forests, draining swamps, building churches, and tilling the fields. Hard work and hard fare were the portion of a monk in those times. When Bishop Morgeneu, in the ninth century, ate meat, such a breach of rule was generally regarded as a heinous sin, and his death at the hands of the Danes was considered a direct punishment for this act.[2] The daily rule of life in St. David's monastery at Menevia was of the most ascetic description. Every monk had to work with his hands, according to the Apostolic injunction that he who doth not work shall not eat. "They put the yoke to their shoulders, they fix stakes with unwearied arms in the earth, and in their holy hands carry hatchets and saws for cutting. . . . . They make no use of oxen for ploughing." After their work in the fields, the rest of the day was passed in reading, writing, or praying. When at evening the

[1] "Cambro-British Saints," vita S. Iltuti.

[2] A grim story is told of him. His ghost appeared to an Irish bishop and said, "I ate meat, and I have been turned into meat."

sound of a bell was heard, each left his study and went in silence to the church. After the psalms were sung, the service was continued till the stars appeared. Then followed a supper of bread, herbs, and salt. The sick, the old, and those who had been on a long journey were allowed more palatable food. After grace had been said, they returned to the church, and spent three hours in vigil and prayer. Then they went to bed, but at cock-crowing all arose and gave themselves to prayer. "From the eve of the Sabbath until the light shone in the first hour after the break of day on the Sabbath, they employed themselves in watchings, prayers, and genuflections, except one hour after morning service on the Sabbath." All things were in common. They were dressed in cheap clothing, principally made of skins.[1] The manual labour of the old monks is a feature of great interest. Illtyd the Knight, of Llantwit, is said to have introduced among the Welsh a new and improved method of ploughing, and the work of the early monks in general must have tended to the progress of civilisation and the peaceful arts among a somewhat rude population.

As would appear from the life of St. David, quoted above, psalmody was an important part of the monastic customs. The Welsh words for monastery are Côr (choir) and Bangor (high choir). The town of Bangor, in North Wales, derives its name from the monastery that was once there. It is said by the

[1] "Cambro British Saints," Vita S. David, pp. 127-8.

Triads that at Llantwit the worship of God was kept up without ceasing, the monks taking the service by rotation, a hundred each hour. As regards the education given at the monasteries little is known. Some copies of Geoffrey of Monmouth state that there were two hundred philosophers at Caerleon who studied astronomy and other sciences, but little credit is given to anything that proceeds from that romancer. More important is it to note the missionary enterprise of the monks. They were always moving about from one country to another, evangelising the heathen or reviving decayed churches.

One of the most striking features of the old monasteries to a modern observer is the enormous number of monks that congregated at one place. At Bangor Iscoed there were two thousand one hundred, all living by manual labour, and divided into seven parts; at Llanelwy (St Asaph) there were nine hundred and sixty-five; at Llantwit Major two thousand four hundred. It might be thought that this was an exaggeration on the part of the Celtic chroniclers, but the numbers at Bangor Iscoed are derived from the Englishman, Bede, who is a competent authority, whose testimony will scarcely be disputed. There are traces, too, of extensive buildings at Llantwit. The reason appears to be that the abbots and founders were frequently princes and powerful men, around whom their dependents naturally gathered. The same feature is found also in other Celtic monasteries; three in Ireland are said to have contained three thousand monks each.

CHAPTER XI.

WELSH MONASTERIES—*continued.*

"BERNARD loved valleys, Benedict loved mountains, Francis towns, Ignatius crowded cities." Such is the purport of two old Latin hexameter lines; the Welsh monasteries, which belonged to none of these orders, but probably originated in virtue of an impulse proceeding from St. Martin of Tours through Brittany,[1] aided possibly by the influence of the labours of St. German and St. Lupus, followed none of these rules in their situations. They were placed generally in remote and solitary spots, but the monasteries of Caergybi, Caerwent, and Caerleon were in towns. The noticeable peculiarity of these retreats is that they were generally not far away from the sea. Hermits, to whom all society was irksome, were especially fond of selecting hills near the coast, or small islands, where they found that companionship which the sight and sound of the dashing waves always gives to the solitary. The self-contained Teuton could be content with inland plains and marshes, but the sociable and affectionate Celt found their solitude too oppressive and preferred the seaside. Often, no doubt, monasteries were placed on

[1] Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 49.

the coast because of the desire which the Celts of that time had both of visiting their brethren beyond the seas and of receiving visits from them; but a genuine love of the coast and its scenery may be detected in such works as "The Death bed of the Bard," a poem written by Meilyr about 1137, wherein he utters his desire to die by the sea in the monastery of Bardsey, the Iona of Wales[1]:

On that appointed day, when there shall rise up
Those who are in the grave, I will then look forward
When I am in my allotted rest
There waiting for the call
To strive and win the goal
In time of need.—

And let that be a solitude, by passengers not trodden,
And around its walls the bosom of the briny sea,
The fair isle of Mary;
The holy isle of saints,
The type of renovation,
There to rest in happiness.

Christ, the predicted Cross,
Will recognise me there
And guard me from the rage of hell,
A place of exiled beings,—
The Creator, who formed me, will give me room among
The community of the inhabitants of Enlli.[2]

A solitude by the sea! Such is the prayer of the bard for the shelter of his infirm old age, when his

[1] Stephens's "Literature of the Kymry," p. 23.
[2] *I.e.*, Bardsey.

life had been lived, and he was weary of the world and of worldly strife.[1]

Such a weariness and longing for peace came upon many in the time of which we are treating, even before old age had been reached. The world around had few attractions for men who sought peace and holiness. "Society," it has been well said, "was a long time unlearning heathenism."[2]

Doubtless even now it is far from being dominated by Christian principles; but in the sixth and seventh centuries it was practically heathen, and the monk's flight from the world, his despair of saving himself in its midst, or of aiding it except from outside, had very much to justify it. We cannot blame him, though we believe that, where it is possible, Christian life in the middle of society, in the household, the place of business, the workshop, in "the daily round, the common task," is really the higher form of Christianity, the one which will more certainly, in the end, mould the life of mankind. In all ages "wisdom is justified of her children," whether her divine power be displayed by the ascetic hermit, such as John the Baptist, who "came neither eating nor drinking"; or by the Son of

[1] The same love of the sea and its scenery is still more graphically expressed in a poem ascribed to Columba, which speaks of "the level sparkling strand," "the thunder of the crowding waves upon the rocks," "the song of the wonderful birds," and "the sea-monsters, the greatest of all wonders."—Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 92.

[2] Church's "Saint Anselm," p. 4.

Man himself, who mingled with men in their common life, and did not reject the title of "the friend of publicans and sinners." The condition of society at large, in the period we are considering, has been shown in previous papers. Monasticism was then almost a necessity, if a man would preserve his spiritual life untainted: the pure flocked to it in youth, the penitent in later life, in utter weariness of their sins, which had brought them no peace, and both alike found in it a haven of refuge. Cystennin, or Constantine, of Cornwall, who, in the dress of an abbot, had committed sacrilegious murder at the very altar of God, afterwards cast away his royal garments, and assumed the monk's dress at St. David's, Gwynllyw, the princely maintainer of robbers, retired to the hill at Newport, where the church of St. Woollos still preserves his memory. The monastic life was also the most powerful agent possible at that time for impressing the outside world. Its very excesses and extravagances were adapted to fascinate the minds of the wild chieftains and their followers, which a more rational but less picturesque type of Christianity would have left untouched.

God fulfils Himself in many ways,

and monasticism, in its early days at least, was one of them.

Besides Caergybi and Penmon, which were noticed in the last chapter, there were monasteries in North Wales at Bangor Iscoed, Bangor Deiniol, Clynnog

Fawr, Llanelwy, and Bardsey. Bangor Iscoed lay in the valley of the Dee, not far from Wrexham. William of Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, mentions remains of great size as still existing there. It was founded by Dunawd, a chief of North Britain, who had been a great warrior in his time, and is called in the Triads one of the three pillars of his country in battle. Driven from his dominions, he retired to Wales, and, with the help of Cyngen, prince of Powys, founded Bangor and became its abbot, and the defender of the independence of the Welsh Church against St Augustine. In 613, Ethelfrith, a pagan Saxon king of Northumbria, came against Wales, and at Chester met his opponents under Cadfan, Morgan, Bledericus, and Brocmael. Before the battle he noticed the monks, chiefly from Bangor, who, in a place apart, were praying for the success of the Welsh arms. The Saxon king inquired who they were and what they were doing, and on being told, said, "If, then, they cry to their God against us, though of a truth they do not bear arms, yet they fight against us, because they oppose us by their imprecations." Accordingly, he commanded them first to be attacked, and Brocmael and his men, who had been posted to defend them, fled. About twelve hundred of the monks were killed, and only fifty escaped. The Welsh were utterly routed. The English afterwards considered this slaughter of the monks to be a divine judgment on them for their rejection of Augustine, and a fulfilment of his prediction that "those per-

fidious men should feel the vengeance of temporal death also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation."

Deiniol, son of Dunawd, who had assisted his father in founding Bangor Iscoed, afterwards (*circ.* 516) founded a monastery in Carnarvonshire, called after him Bangor Deiniol, or sometimes Bangor Fawr, at the place which still bears the name of Bangor, and now possesses another Welsh college. Deiniol became the first bishop of a new see. His son, Deiniolen, or Deiniol Fal, became abbot after him. The monastery of Bangor had great fame among the Celtic churches, its burning is mentioned in the Irish annals under the years 631 and 672. The civil privileges granted to the men of Arfon were put under the protection of the monks of Bangor and of Clynnog Fawr.

Clynnog Fawr, in Carnarvonshire, was founded by St. Beuno. The ground was given by Cadfan, prince of North Wales. As eleven ancient churches are dedicated to the saint, it would seem that his life's work was considerable. The legend which professes to record his life is almost wholly fabulous, written in archaic Welsh, by a Welshman of the narrowest type, who evidently hated the English. He mentions an oak, still standing in his day, which was reputed to have been planted by St. Beuno. One of its branches was bent and reached the ground, and the popular belief was that if an Englishman should walk between that branch and the tree, he would immediately die, but a Welshman could pass

through with impunity. According to him, Beuno removed westward, to avoid the English. As he was travelling one day by the Severn, he heard a voice, on the other side of the river, of an Englishman, who was shouting out, "Cergia," an English way of encouraging his dogs in hunting the hare. Beuno, who was about to cross the river, immediately came back, and said to his disciples, "My sons, put on your clothes and your shoes, and let us leave this place, for the nation of this man has a strange language and is abominable and I heard his voice, on the other side of the river, inciting the dogs after a hare; they have invaded this place, and it will be theirs, and they will keep it in their possession."

Llanelwy, or St Asaph, was founded by St. Kentigern Its monks were divided into three classes: 300, being illiterate, worked in the fields, 300 gave themselves up to domestic work, and 365 kept up the church services

Bardsey, the island of the bards, called by the Welsh Ennli, the island of the current, was of old the sacred island of Wales There the bones of Dyfrig and Deiniol were laid thither retired the saints, after their life of conflict, to find rest and peace in prayer and meditation, with the fair prospect of Cardigan Bay before their eyes According to a legend still preserved by a monument erected by Lord Newborough upon the island, the bodies of twenty thousand Welsh saints were there laid to rest. Bards sang of it as the road to heaven and the gate of Paradise, and three pilgrimages thither were regarded

as equal to one pilgrimage to Rome. The monastery was founded by Cadfan a saint of Armorica, who sailed thence with many companions. Finion Frenhin is said to have co operated with him in the foundation. Cynon, the founder of two churches in Montgomeryshire and Cardiganshire, was one of Cadfan's companions, and is said to have been "chancellor" of his monastery. Cadfan founded also the church of Tywyn, in Merionethshire, in the churchyard of which a pillar existed, with a Welsh inscription, in memory of this saint

Another Armorican saint who came over at the same time as Cadfan was Padarn, who founded the monastery of Llanbadarn Fawr, near the present town of Aberystwith, and became the first bishop of a new see, which had its seat there As the bees go forth in spring, thus, we are told, the saints poured forth from Brittany Eight hundred and forty seven monks followed Padarn According to his legend, he afterwards visited Ireland, and then returned to Brittany. Eventually he is said to have become bishop of Vannes, called Guenet in the legend. This story, however, is not improbably due to confusion with another saint of the same name [1] When at Vannes, he is said to have been summoned by the renowned Samson, pupil of Illtyd and archbishop of Dôl, who, at the malicious instigation of a monk, sent for him to come to him in whatever state he should be found by a messenger, thereby to prove his

[1] See p. 39, *ante*. Haddan and Stubbs, i. 145, 159.

humility. Accordingly, Padarn repaired to Samson, with a boot and stocking on one leg and the other naked, as the messenger had found him. The malicious monk was immediately seized by a demon, and only delivered at Padarn's intercession.

One point which is worthy of notice in the narratives of the foundations of Bardsey and Llanbadarn Fawr is the constant journeying of the monks. They appear not to have been bound to any one monastery, but to have continually moved about. Intercourse with the Gallican Church has already been proved by the friendship between St. Ninias and St. Martin of Tours and the mission of St. German. Even before that time, as early as the fifth century, contemporary writers mention the visits of Britons to Jerusalem, and to Telanissus, near Antioch, to see Simeon Stylites. The pilgrimage of David, Padarn, and Teilo has also been noticed. There was also continual communication between Britain and Ireland. St. Patrick was a Briton of Strathclyde, and was born probably near Dumbarton.[1] When, after his death, Irish Christianity decayed, it was restored by a mission sent out under the auspices of David, Gildas, and Cadoc. About A.D. 565 Gildas is said to have gone over to Ireland at the invitation of King Ainmire; and in Irish collections of canons of the sixth or seventh centuries his place is only second to that of

[1] Some make St. Patrick a native of Brittany, but the above statement seems to be clearly established by Todd's "St. Patrick," pp. 355–361. See also Haddan and Stubbs, i. 12.; Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 19.

Patrick himself. The second order of Irish saints, likened to the moon in brightness, was traced to this mission. St. David's and Llancarfan were the seminaries to which Irish Christians resorted at this period. St. Finnian of Clonard came to St. David's, and there met David, Cathmael or Cadoc, and Gildas. St. Molac. St. Bar of Cork, St. Aidus or Maidoc, the bishop of Ferns, also were disciples of St. David. Other Irish saints sought Whitherne, in North Britain. The importance of the work performed by the British Church in stimulating the monastic spirit in the Church of Ireland cannot be over-estimated, as to it was due the faith which animated St. Columba, the monk of Iona, and the successors of his Church, who, when the cause of Christianity was beaten back in England, preached the true religion to the English of the north. We are accustomed to regard the Teutons, the sea-kings, as the rovers of the sea and travellers of these times; but the Celts, albeit their love of the sea may have been less, did not shrink from its perils, but sallied forth in their love for mankind and their zeal for the true faith. They had not our advantages for travel, but they believed in Christian brotherhood, and found brethren to help them wherever they found monks, and they were full of that missionary spirit which is the sure token of energy and real life in a Church.

CHAPTER XII.

WELSH MONASTERIES—LLANCARFAN AND ST. CADOC.

THE monastery of Llancarfan, or Llanfeithin, which occupied so distinguished a place in the movement for the revival of Irish Christianity, was one of the three great monasteries of the see of Llandaff, Llantwit Major and Docwinni being the other two. The present village of Llancarfan lies, unknown and unregarded, about twelve miles to the west of Cardiff—a dull collection of cottages, with a whitewashed church, but in a rather picturesque position, close to a deep gully, which diversifies the usual tame uniformity of the plain of Glamorgan. To this spot the saint, who is variously called Cadoc, Cattwg, and Cathmael, retired, and there founded his monastery, in conjunction with St. Dyfrig, who was bishop of Llandaff at the time, and who is said to have been much attached to his friendship.

Cadoc was one of the most notable men of his age: a saintly and active abbot, a prince of influence and ability, a gentle, genial, and philosophic sage. His father was Gwynllyw, the chieftain of Gwynllwg, or Gwentloog, in Monmouthshire, and his mother Gwladys is said to have been one of the children of Brychan, who gave his name to Breconshire. Cadoc renounced the succession to his father's principality,

preferring the service of religion to "the allurements of the deceitful world," and claimed as his inheritance merely the district of Llancarfan, where he founded his college. Yet it would seem that his power was scarcely less than kingly, his reputation as a saint compensated for the lack of the royal insignia, and his tribesmen still regarded him as their lord. The same legend which records his renunciation of worldly power relates also that he was prince over his father's and his grandfather's domains in Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. In Lent he used to retire to two of those islands which lend picturesqueness to the British Channel near Cardiff,—Barry, now improved or ruined by the construction of new docks; and Echni, the Flat Holme, which still retains much of its primitive simplicity, and seems even now to be as far away from the rest of the world as it was in the days of Cadoc. On Palm Sunday he returned to Llancarfan, and stayed there over Easter, supporting daily "a hundred clergy, and a hundred soldiers, and a hundred workmen, and a hundred poor persons, with the same number of widows," besides servants, esquires, and guests.[1] This is probably only an exaggerated picture of the princely hospitality which Cadoc's power over his clansmen enabled him to maintain at his abbey. Cadoc's monks would be chiefly members of the same tribe, who would reverence him both as prince and abbot. A close connexion between the tribe and the monastery was a

[1] "Cambro-British Saints," p. 45.

common feature of the Celtic churches; in Ireland it was the rule that on the death of an abbot the new abbot should be chosen from the founder's kin, and the monastery and tribe had certain definite rights, which each could exact from the other.[1]

Cadoc's birth and power, together with his character and abilities, gave him a position of great authority in the Church in Wales. "It is in Cadoc," says Professor Rhys,[2] "that we find David's most formidable rival,"—a rival, that is, in his influence over the Goidelic branch of the Welsh Celts. It was in no spirit of ungenerous rivalry, however, that Cadoc carried on the work for which he had forsaken houses and lands. He co-operated gladly with David and Gildas in their efforts on behalf of the monastic system of Ireland, and made Llancarfan a centre of light for Irish students, as David made Menevia. As has been already stated, Irish traditions bear testimony to the efforts of Cadoc, whom they call either Doc or by his baptismal name of Cathmael, and to whom they ascribe a mass or liturgy used in Ireland. St. Canice, of Kilkenny, "crossed the sea to Britain to Doc, a wise and most religious man, and read sedulously with him, and learned good morals, and was very humble and obedient."[3]

The legendary life of Cadoc, by Lifris,[4] is full of

[1] Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 66–72.
[2] "Celtic Britain," p. 254.
[3] Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 100, *note*.
[4] "Cambro-British Saints."

indications of his interest in Ireland, and probably contains many stories of Irish origin. It differs widely from other Welsh legends in its tone and style. Not only is it extravagant and absurd in its miracles beyond the usual measure of extravagance, but the saintliness which it praises is compatible with a spirit of revenge which would put Paganism itself to the blush. In these characteristics it resembles the later Irish legends, which led Giraldus Cambrensis to complain that the very saints of Ireland seemed prone to revenge, and to express a doubt whether some who were accounted saints on earth would be so accounted in heaven. Yet, at the same time, this "life of faults," as Lifris himself calls it, appears to incorporate much early and valuable tradition, and even its very follies are frequently exaggerations of facts. It may, therefore, be interesting and useful to state in a brief form its testimony to Cadoc's connexion with Ireland. At the outset, an Irishman is introduced, a hermit, who devoutly served God, by name Meuthi, who baptised the child, and gave him the name of Cathmael. To him also the child was committed for instruction, and he taught him in Donatus, and Priscian, and other arts, for the space of twelve years. This Meuthi is the same as Tathai, or Tathan, the abbot of Caerwent.[1] A long time after the founding of Llancarfan, we are told,

[1] Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 99, *note*. See "Cambro-British Saints," pp. 260–1, where the life of St. Tatheus makes him the teacher of St. Cadoc, and tells pretty nearly the same stories.

on a certain day, the blessed Cadoc spoke to his disciples on this wise, saying, "My brethren most beloved, I kindle now with a burning desire to cross over to Ireland for the sake of receiving instruction." So a strong boat, besmeared with pitch, was prepared in a harbour of the sea, and the saint set sail with certain of his monks. He came to Lismore, and there studied under the chief doctor, Muchutu, for the space of three years, until he gained perfection in the whole of Western learning. It was said that a monastery was built in his honour at Lismore. It is curious to note that in this story Cadoc is represented, not as instructing the Irish, but as receiving instruction from them. Muchutu seems to be Mochuda, the founder of Lismore, of whom the beautiful legend is told that, when keeping his father's swine, he heard a bishop and his clergy chanting psalms as they passed through the woods, and followed them to hear their sweet singing, and thenceforth resolved to become a monk, that he, too, might take part always in such celestial melody.[1]

After three years, Cadoc returned to Llancarfan with a large number of Irish and British clergy, among whom were "Finian, Macmoil, and Gnavan. Of "Finian," or Finnian, various stories are told, and a chapel is said to have been built at Llancarfan in his honour. His name is also appended as a witness to a gift made by certain princes to Cadoc and Illtyd. To Macmoil Cadoc gave one of three altars at Llan-

[1] Montalembert, "Monks of the West," bk. viii. c. iii. Mochuda died in 637.

carfan, which had been miraculously transported from Jerusalem, and built a church for him in Monmouthshire, where Mamhole, formerly called Massmoil, now stands.[1] Finnian was the celebrated abbot of Clonard, whose legend relates that he spent thirty years in all in Britain.

One curious detail in Lifris's legend is a reference to a shaggy garment worn by Cadoc, such as the Irish were wont to wear out of doors. The descent of Cadoc is traced, not only from Augustus Cæsar, and Anna, cousin of the Virgin Mary (so anxious was Cadoc's biographer to provide him with illustrious ancestors), but also, which is a very curious point in connexion with our subject, from "the best stocks of the kings of Ireland."

We have perfectly trustworthy evidence that the connexion between Llancarfan and Ireland, which Cadoc commenced, was continued by his successors. Cydifor, abbot of Llancarfan, who died in 883, sent "six learned men of his abbey to instruct the Irish."[2] There is an old Welsh manuscript of the ninth century in the Cambridge University Library which, from internal evidence, must have been carried to Ireland before 874, and may have been carried by these very teachers.[3] It was an ill return for the

[1] Near Bedwellty. It is called Massmoil in a record dated between 1101 and 1107.

[2] "Brut y Tywysog on."

[3] This is the MS. Juvencus. It is "Welsh, of the ninth century, but contains entries relating to Nuadu and Fethgna, bishops of Armagh, who died respectively A.D. 811 and 874, which show it to have been carried to Ireland before the last-

benefits received from Llancarfan, if the Irish infected the Welsh monks with the taste for barbarous stories of saintly revenge. Very different from this was the spirit of St. Patrick's faith, as expressed in his grand song, which was no doubt familiar to Cadoc and his monks. In that "Coat of Mail," as it was metaphorically called, though Patrick recognises the dread powers with which he had to fight, directed against both body and soul, he breathes no spirit of savagery against them, but arms himself with the sacred name and aid of Christ:—

Christ with me, Christ before me,
Christ behind me, Christ within me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ on my right, Christ on my left,
Christ in the fort,
Christ in the chariot-seat,
Christ in the poop.

Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me,
Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me,
Christ in every eye that sees me,
Christ in every ear that hears me.

These verses will give us a better idea of the masculine devotion and untiring energy which animated the old heroes,—Patrick, the founder of Irish Christianity, and Cadoc, Gildas, and David, its restorers.

named year. . . . . If the very probable hypothesis of Messrs. Skene and Bradshaw is correct, the MS. must have originally belonged to the abbey of Llancarvan, and be dated about the middle or beginning of the ninth century."—Haddan and Stubbs, i. 198.

Pleasant are the traditions which are connected with Cadoc's name of Ddoeth, "the Wise." In early conditions of society, proverbial philosophy, such as is attributed to the abbot of Llancarfan, plays a very important part. Reflections, gathered from everyday experience, which appear trite to later ages, wear then an air of novelty. The maxim may embody merely the current opinion of the time; but, when once stereotyped, that opinion gains a new sanction. The truth is obvious, and so it can be understood by the multitude: it is novel in form, and so it attracts them. Such simple proverbs or triads therefore are the most valuable means of culture possible for the time in which they are produced. They mark a stage of progress from the concrete to the abstract; what was before dimly recognised in individual instances becomes now an idea which may quicken the whole national life. Thus the "Know thyself," inscribed on the front of the temple of Delphi, became the text for the teaching of Socrates; the gnomic sayings of the Seven Wise Men were the foundations of the glorious edifice of Greek philosophy. In his country and his degree Cadoc in like manner did able service. Tradition has delivered to us many triads and proverbs which bear his name, and, though these cannot all be genuine—nay, we know not certainly whether any of them are, for in their present form they bear marks of a later date than the sixth century—yet their existence testifies to the power which the abbot's predominating intelligence formerly exercised. As their

seventeenth-century collector states, Cadoc became so famous for his wise utterances "that everything of that kind in the Welsh language became attributed to his name, and thus the fame of Catoc swallowed up that of every one else"[1] There is indeed enough literature extant ascribed to him to fill a good-sized volume Some of these sayings express merely the simplest results of observation Such is, "the wren's strength is his ingenuity" Others are merely embodiments of current opinion or prejudice, for example,—

> The strength of the Saxon lies in his cunning
> The strength of the Irishman lies in his lies
> The strength of the Welshman lies in his impatience

This third seems hardly to suit the character of Cadoc as a friend of Ireland More appropriate are the following proverbs —

> There is no God but that which can have no superior
> There is no superior but that which is superior to all
> There is nothing superior to all but love
> There is no love but God, no God but love

Plain moral truth which would from its form have an influence on the minds of all is thus laid down

> There is no man a hero save him that will speak the truth.
> There is nothing near a man save what he cannot reach — himself
> There is no loud voice save that which no one hears— conscience
> No man has sense save him that perceives he is a fool
> There is no man thoughtful save him that is quiet

[1] "Myvyrian Archæology"

Shakespeare's dictum is thus anticipated by the musical genius of the Celt:—

There is no man conscientious save him who has an affectionate heart.
There is no man has an affectionate heart save him who has natural feeling
There is no man who has natural feeling save him who loves music
There is no man a love of music save him who has genius.

Asked by one of his disciples to define Love, Cadoc replied —

"Love, it is Heaven."
"And hate?" asked the disciple
"Hate is hell"
"And conscience?"
"It is the eye of God in the soul of man."

The last saying I shall quote proves the presence of the kindly Welsh heart in its author, whoever he may have been —

There is no man pious save him who is cheerful.[1]

Besides triads and maxims, fables also are attributed to the saint,[2] among them "The Man who killed his Greyhound," the legend now usually associated with Beddgelert, but in this version with a place named Abergarwan

It would appear that towards the end of his life Cadoc visited Brittany, where he founded a monastery

[1] Most of these translations are taken, with some alterations, from the "Cambrian Register," vol. iii pp. 319 339. The translator's name is given as Thomas ap Jevan.

[2] Iolo MSS.

and built a "basilica,"[1] or church of stone, on a small island of the archipelago of Morbihan, called after his name Ynys Cathodw, the island of Cathodw, or Cadoc.[2] Breton legends in strange contrast to the narrative of Lifris dwell fondly on the gentleness of the saint. Virgil, they say, was his favourite author, and he made his scholars learn his writings by heart. "One day, while walking with his friend and companion, the famous historian Gildas, with his Virgil under his arm, the abbot began to weep at the thought that the poet whom he loved so much might be even then perhaps in hell. At the moment when Gildas reprimanded him severely for that *perhaps*, protesting that without any doubt Virgil must be damned, a sudden gust of wind tossed Cadoc's book into the sea. He was much moved by this accident, and, returning to his cell, said to himself, 'I will not eat a mouthful of bread nor drink a drop of water before I know truly what fate God has allotted to those who sang upon earth as the angels sing in heaven.' After this he fell asleep, and soon after, dreaming, heard a soft voice addressing him. 'Pray for me,

[1] *Basilica* is used in the legends as a term for a stone church, also at times called *templum* or *ecclesia*. Wooden churches are usually called *oratories* (Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. 58). The basilica was properly the Roman hall, which became the type of Christian churches. It was a parallelogram divided into three parts longitudinally by two rows of pillars; these divisions became the nave and aisles of the church; the tribune for the judges arranged in a semicircle at one end became the apse.—Parker, "Introduction to Gothic Architecture," pp. 1, 2.

[2] "Cambro-British Saints," p. 67.

pray for me,' said the voice; 'never be weary of praying; I shall yet sing eternally the mercy of the Lord.'" The next day the book which he had lost was restored in a wonderful way.[1]

Brittany did not forget the saint. "Eight centuries after his death," says Montalembert, "the great Celtic monk and patriot was still invoked as their special patron by the Breton knights in the famous battle of the Thirty, where Beaumanoir drank his own blood. On their way to the field they went into a chapel dedicated to St. Cadoc, and appealed to him for aid, and returned victorious, singing a Breton ballad, which ends thus:—

He is not the friend of the Bretons who does not cry for joy to see our warriors return with the yellow broom in their casques;

He is no friend of the Bretons, nor of the Breton saints, who does not bless St. Cadoc, the patron of our warriors;

He who does not shout, and bless, and worship, and sing, "In heaven, as on earth, Cadoc has no peer."

It has been conjectured that Cadoc was the original of Sir Galahad, the hero of Arthurian romance, the seeker for the Holy Grail, with whose story Tennyson has made us all familiar.[2] Certainly the name of Cadoc has always been beloved and revered by the Welsh nation, and various triads record his celebrity and connect him with Arthur. He is called "one of the three knights of upright judgment" of Arthur's

[1] Montalembert, "Monks of the West," bk. viii. c. ii. *Authorised Translation.*

[2] Miss Yonge, "Christian Names," p. 279.

court, who redressed grievances, protected the orphan and widow, the helpless and the stranger, against oppression and violence, his special method of action being by "the law of religion and equity," whereas the other two knights wrought by "the law of the land" or "the law of arms." He was one of the "three chaste knights" of Arthur, one of the "three holy bachelors" of the Isle of Britain, one of the three wise men who were Arthur's chief counsellors, and one of the "three wise bards" of his court. Certainly Fame, if she has not paid much regard to accuracy, has not failed to magnify the name of Cadoc, but, alas! she has spoken either in the Welsh tongue or in a barbarous Latin, and so her proclamations have been little heeded by the world at large. Yet the abbot of Llancarfan is one of the few Britons who have done only good to Ireland and no evil; he, more perhaps than any other man in the early history of Wales, diffused a form of instruction suited to the capacity of all classes, even the least intelligent. Moreover, the example of his life was not lost upon his abbey, which continued the good work after his death. Sixteen churches also exist chiefly in the diocese of Llandaff which are dedicated to him, of fourteen of which he is the reputed founder, and six Llangattocks or Llangadocks (Cattwg's church) and two Cadoxtons (Cadoc's town) among the towns and villages of South Wales and Monmouthshire preserve his name. This much of truth we may safely gather from the traditions left us, and with Abou ben Adhem, Cadoc

may be written down as "one that loved his fellow-men," the best proof that he also loved his Lord. The story of his life presents us with, perhaps, the finest picture which the British Church possesses of the union of noble birth with saintly virtue,—this, too, in an age when, as the names of David, Gildas, and many other saints prove, such a union was not uncommon, and in whose annals not unfrequently "they who were the theme of minstrelsy and the fountains of mundane honour, the champions of innocence, the princes and heroes of the earth, are found among the worshippers of the Lamb in the assembly of the saints."

Kenelm Digby's "Mores

CHAPTER XIII.

WELSH MONASTERIES—LLANCARFAN—ST. GILDAS AND MAELGWN GWYNEDD.

CLOSELY connected with the great abbot of Llancarfan and with his monastery was Gildas the Wise, another of the trio who sought the good of Ireland, and, perhaps, the most active worker of all in the cause. With Cadoc, we are told, he lived for a year at Llancarfan, superintending the studies of the monastery, and formed with him the intention of removing thence that they might dwell as anchorites, each on a separate island of the Bristol Channel; with him he welcomed Irish pilgrims at Menevia; with him again he was associated in Brittany, and discussed the everlasting destiny of the poet Virgil. How much of this is truth and how much fable it were difficult to say, but the connexion between the two names makes the story of the life of Gildas the fitting pendant to that of the life of Cadoc.

"There were three stocks of saints of the island of Britain," so the Welsh pedigrees say,[1] "the children of Brychan, the children of Cunedda Wledig, and the children of Caw of Britain." Cadoc belonged to the first sacred family,[2] David and Teilo to the

[1] "Cambro-British Saints," p. 601.

[2] His mother was a daughter of Brychan.

second, Gildas was a son of Caw. Of Caw we know little; Welsh stories relate that he was a prince of North Britain, who was forced to leave his principality on account of the incursions of the Picts and Scots, and who retired to Anglesey. His son Gildas is said to have been born at Alclwyd (Dumbarton) before the exile of the family. Four legendary lives of this saint are extant,[1] but the only trustworthy details we have are those which we gather from his own works and from the Welsh and Irish annals. He was born in the year of the British victory of Mount Badon, about 516, and is said to have been educated by St. Illtyd. In 560 he wrote his "History." In 565 he sailed on his mission to Ireland. One of the legends states that he was invited by King Ammire, the cousin of St. Columba, who promised "that he would obey him in all his doctrines, if he would come and restore ecclesiastical order in Ireland, because almost all the inhabitants of that island had abandoned the Catholic faith. . . . . Equipped with the shield of fortitude and the helmet of salvation, he went around all the

[1] These lives are so different that some have supposed there were two persons of the name of Gildas, who have been confused with one another. They are distinguished as Gildas Albanius (Gildas of Alban or Scotland) and Gildas Badonicus (Gildas of Badon). There seems, however, to be no necessity for this theory.—See Haddan and Stubbs, i. 156; Pryce, "Ancient British Church," pp. 64-5; Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 111, *note*. Rees ("Welsh Saints," p. 225), following Iolo Morganwg and Dr. Owen Pughe, supposes Gildas to be the same as the poet Aneurin, a theory which is not supported by sufficient evidence to ensure general adoption.

country of the Irish, restored churches, and instructed the whole clergy in the Catholic faith and the worship of the Holy Trinity. He healed the people who had been grievously wounded by the bites of heretics, and drove away from them heretical deceits with their authors."

There is much exaggeration in this picture, as is usual in the legends, for if we may trust the accepted chronology, the monastic system was already doing good work in Ireland before Gildas's arrival, and Columba had started on his mission two years previously. Yet all tradition points to a declension in the Church of Ireland after the death of St. Patrick and the prevalence of serious errors of some kind, from which it was delivered by monasticism with the aid of the British Church.[1]

Gildas died in 569 or 570. Traditions, in which there may be some grains of truth, connect him with Brittany, which country he is said to have visited in the time of Count Conomerus, the Bluebeard of his age, whose atrocious wickedness he miraculously punished.

Some penitential canons and some fragments from a second epistle are ascribed to Gildas, as also a hymn, or "lorica," but far more important than these is that great work of his, known to the Englishman Bede, and still preserved, which is usually divided into two parts, called respectively the "History" and the "Epistle of Gildas." It is of an extraordinary

[1] See Todd's "St. Patrick," pp. 101–118; Haddan and Stubbs, i. 115.

character, "written within and without," like the Hebrew prophet's roll, "with lamentations, and mourning, and woe." "The land mourneth and languisheth," such is the burden of its complaint, "we are become a prey to our enemies, and all because of our sin." It were easy to criticise its faults of style—the strained antitheses; the turgid rhetoric: the incongruous union of Celtic and Hebrew imagery, of the muse of Jeremiah with the muse of Taliesin; the overcharged and wearisome invective; the accumulation of Scriptural texts and allusions, which the author uses as scourges for offenders. But it is difficult to enter into the spirit of an age of which we know little, the manners and ideas of which were so different from our own; and rash and petulant criticism were out of place. The blemishes so distasteful to modern perceptions were probably regarded as beauties by Gildas's own age. Gildas was a preacher, and must be judged accordingly; and, though the poet may write for posterity, the preacher must preach for his contemporaries.

No gleam of light relieves or heightens the gloomy picture which Gildas presents to our eyes. The work of the monasteries is scarcely referred to, but the vices of the princes and the clergy are painted in all their hideousness. Fools, shameless men, crafty robbers, wolves ready for the slaughter of souls, gluttons hoarse as bulls by reason of fatness, wallowing like pigs in the mire—such are the terms applied by Gildas to the clergy of his day. In some measure this bitter attack may be due to a monk's

contempt and dislike for a married and secular clergy, for the only charge which can be regarded as precise is that of simony. "They buy their priesthood, counterfeit and never likely to profit, not from the Apostles or the successors of the Apostles, but from tyrants and from their father the devil."

The invective poured by Gildas upon the princes of his day has been referred to in a previous chapter. The sketch which he gives of Magoclunus, or Maelgwn Gwynedd, combined with what is related by other authorities, furnishes the best apology for the violence of his language and for that aversion from the world of which the monastic system was the product. Gildas and Maelgwn are, for their ages, the representatives of two opposite principles. Maelgwn was the head of the royal and sacred family of Cunedda, and in him the forces of the Church and the world contended for the mastery. He had great capacities and a generous disposition; if we may trust tradition, he had befriended the father of Gildas and given him lands in Anglesey. But the stern monk was no respecter of persons; he flinches not from the task of setting his sins before the guilty king, though a personal regard seems to breathe even in his severity, and it is with somewhat of real eloquence that he mourns the fall of a spirit so noble, and seeks the salvation of so splendid a convert. "How great," he exclaims, "were the joy of Mother Church if the enemy of all mortals had not stolen thee so lamentably from her bosom! How would the tinder of celestial hope kindle in the hearts of

desperate sinners if thou remainedst among the good! What great rewards of Christ's kingdom would await thy soul in the day of judgment had not the cunning wolf carried off thee, a wolf who had become a lamb from the Lord's sheepfold!"

The Church had first taken hold upon Maelgwn; he had been trained by some notable abbot, "the elegant master of nearly the whole of Britain," perhaps Paulinus.[1] But he soon turned aside, and in the early years of his youth became his uncle's murderer. Yet contrition fell upon him, and the call, "What shall it profit a man?" came to him in his court and among his pleasures, as centuries afterwards it came to Francis Xavier, and, for a time, he listened to the voice, and in an agony of penitence took the vow of the monk. But he fell again, and his second fall was greater than the first. At the suggestion of his nephew's wife, he murdered his first wife and his nephew, and then married his temptress. When Gildas wrote, he was great and powerful, king of Gwynedd, or North Wales, and recognised by all the Welsh as their over-king, successor to the dignity of Gwledig, which his ancestor Cunedda had held; he was "the island dragon" who had bereft many tyrants of their kingdoms and their lives, great in power, strong in arms, and profuse in largess. Could the pardon of the Church have been bought by gifts,

[1] So Haddan and Stubbs (i. 164) conjecture; Rhys ("Celtic Britain," p. 120) thinks it was Cadoc.

he would have won it; the Red Book of St. Asaph still testifies to the endowments he bestowed on that see; he shared with Deiniol the honour of founding the see of Bangor; and he gave lands to Cybi and to Padarn.[1] But the Welsh Church was severe in exacting holiness of life from its members; no benefactions were accepted as atonement for sin; gifts to the Church might be exacted as penalties, but they were not regarded as a substitute for repentance and amendment of life. And so Maelgwn, the lavish benefactor of religion, the scion of a sacred house, which gave David, Teilo, and twenty nine other saints of less repute to the Church, is recorded in history, notwithstanding all his generosity, as one of those who despised correction. Like Lancelot of the Table Round, he became the blemish of the noble fellowship of his saintly house; some, indeed, have thought that the Lancelot of romance was the Maelgwn of history.[2] In the legends of the saints he is invested with an almost mythical character, and appears as a sort of incarnation of the world that opposed the Church. "The great tempter of the

[1] Lady Charlotte Guest ("Mabinogion," *note*, p. 503, 2nd ed.) ascribes to him the foundation of the Priory of Penmon; but Rees ("Welsh Saints," p. 212) gives Einion Frenhin as the founder.

[2] There is a story in Arthurian romance that Maelgwn, otherwise called Maelgwas, hid in a wood and carried off the wife of Arthur. Maelgwas is supposed to have been confounded with Mael-was, "a servant-boy," which was translated into old Romance French as Ancel or Ancelot, otherwise Lancelot. — See Miss Yonge's "Christian Names," p. 262.

saints," he is continually coming in conflict with them, and is always worsted. Yet here, too, we get occasionally a transient glimpse of the better side of his character. He has Cadoc as his confessor, and charges his son not to injure the saint. Even in his sins, he reverences the virtue which he cannot imitate; he does not deny the truth of the religion whose saints he would fain persecute.

Without laying too much stress on these stories, they at least teach us one fact: Maelgwn Gwynedd could understand the monk who sought for heaven and for holiness with the excess of a passionate nature like his own, and felt in his presence how awful goodness is. When Cybi or Padarn confronted Maelgwn, moral power met brute force, holiness met vice, love met hate, gentleness met violence, and the divine part in Maelgwn's soul gained for the moment the supremacy, and the wild beast shrank appalled. But for all this no lasting conversion appears to have been wrought; his life was throughout a life of violence and bloodshed. At last death approached; the Yellow Plague depopulated the country, and then Maelgwn fled in terror for sanctuary to the church of Llanrhos. This may have been merely an act of superstition; it may, however, have been an act of penitence. Who can say that one in whose heart there seems always to have been some good thing, some stirring of the Divine Spirit, may not even in the last hour have found mercy for his soul! If he simply sought to avoid the plague, his flight

was vain, for he perished miserably, slain, by the "strange creature" who came—

> From the sea-marsh of Rhianedd,
> As a punishment of iniquity
> On Maelgwn Gwynedd;
> His hair and his teeth
> And his eyes being as gold.[1]

The story is full of pathos and instruction. Such, but for the monastic rule, might have been the career of Gildas or of Cadoc. If a man did not become a monk he ran in that age a considerable risk of losing his Christianity altogether. Gildas, the restorer of the faith in Ireland, but the disciple also of a stern and unlovely asceticism, whose protest against vice savours almost of bitterness and railing; Maelgwn, the prince, who would fain have followed the Lord, but had great possessions, the man of lust and of blood:—these are examples of the Church and the world of that savage age, characters sufficiently familiar to be comprehensible with study, and sufficiently strange to need and to repay that study. If we learn to understand the king and the monk aright, we shall understand the life and the life-problems of the British Church of the sixth century.

When Gildas adopts the tones of a Hebrew prophet,

[1] The so-called prophecy of Taliesin. A proverb also preserved the memory of his death, which in English is "The long sleep of Maelgwn in the court of Rhos." The story ran that he looked out through the keyhole of the door and saw the plague, and so perished.—See Lady Guest's "Mabinogion," p. 503 (2nd edition). The date of his death is given by the "Annales Cambriæ" as 547, but he fought at Ardderyd in 573.

it is because he was to the princes and priests of his age what Isaiah and Jeremiah were to the princes and priests of Judah. There is a grandeur in his fortitude and boldness which should awaken our admiration; there is also, perhaps, somewhat of nobility in the princes whom he withstood which should gain for them our sympathy and interest. They were not respectable hypocrites, not cold philosophers, or careless worldlings, to whom religion was contemptible, they bore with meekness the reproofs of God's servants; they could feel, and feel deeply, conviction of sin. The conversion of Cystennin, which was one of the most remarkable events of the sixth century,[1] may have been a result of the admonitions of Gildas' "Epistle," and was thorough and permanent. The "Liber Landavensis" records the infliction of excommunication and other penalties on various princes of South Wales, Meurig and Morgan, kings of Glamorgan, Tewdwr of Dyfed, and Clydri of Ergyng, for murder: Gwednaeth of Gwent for fratricide; Gwrgan of Ergyng for incest.

These princes, wild men as they were, did not struggle against the Church's censure, but submitted. Passionate as David in their vices, such men could be equally passionate in their repentance. Their hearts were soft, though their passions were hot. These were not as the rich who are sent empty away, the mighty who are put down from their seats; rather they were the sinners whom the Church and her

[1] A.D. 589 ("Annales Cambriæ").

Lord call to repentance. Estimated by the rules of the Gospel, the Welsh monks and the Welsh princes of these early centuries do not suffer by comparison with the clergy and the aristocracy of more modern and more refined periods Perhaps in the judgment Cystennin and Maelgwn may arise and condemn even the present generation of progress and light

CHAPTER XIV

WELSH MONASTERIES—LLANTWIT MAJOR, ETC.

Of all the old monasteries of Wales none is more interesting to a dweller in Glamorganshire than the college of St. Illtyd at Llanilltyd Fawr,[1] now called Llantwit Major. The village is but a short distance from Llancarfan, and may be easily reached from the railway-station of Cowbridge. A walk of a few miles southward from that dull old town, still a Parliamentary borough (for it is one of the Cardiff group), through a somewhat tame but picturesque country, by narrow cart-tracks that are quagmires in bad weather, across fields with doubtful paths, and along sheltered lanes where spring foliage and flowers wake early, through the villages of Llanblethian and Llanvihangel,—names uncouth to English ears, but reminding the instructed wayfarer of Lupus, the fellow soldier of German in the war against heresy, and of the time when it became a custom to call churches after

[1] *I.e.*, St. Illtyd's Church the Greater. The monastery was also called Caerworgorn and Côr Tewdws; sometimes also Bangor Illtyd (Illtyd's college), which name has led Montalembert ("Monks of the West," bk. viii. c. ii.), followed by Kingsley ("Hermits," p. 249), to confound it with Bangor Iscoed on the Dee.

Michael the Archangel instead of the native founders,[1]—will bring the pedestrian to the little scattered village nigh to the shore of the Bristol Channel which now marks the place whither, in the sixth century, Illtyd and his companions retired. On approaching the village the visitor sees, first of all, a large ruined building, which, although comparatively modern, impresses his mind, by its size and importance, with ideas of past greatness, and prepares him for what is to succeed. Descending the hill through the quaint village of many streets, past whitewashed cottages, often of antique appearance, he comes eventually in front of a plain ancient building with a belfry. This is now the town-hall, and the bell still bears the inscription, "*Sancte Iltute, ora pro nobis*," "Saint Illtyd, pray for us." Near this is the old church, a small simple structure with little external ornament, showing by its architecture no signs of greater antiquity than the thirteenth century, yet standing, it can scarcely be doubted, on the same site as Illtyd's own church. On entering, it is seen to be divided into two separate parts by a wall; the eastern part is alone used, and contains curious traces of frescoes on the walls and a finely-carved niche. Descending by steps into the western part, which is supposed to have been the

[1] Llanblethian is the Church of St. Lupus; Llanvihangel is equivalent to St. Michael's Church. There are ninety-four churches and chapels in the Welsh dioceses, dedicated to St. Michael; thirty-nine villages named Llanfihangel (Llanvihangel), besides villages named Michaelston, Michaelchurch, and St. Michael's.—Rees, "Welsh Saints," p. 36.

Lady Chapel, the visitor finds it to be a damp, gruesome place, a receptacle for stones and broken monuments of all ages. The curiosity of the chapel is a broken cross of the ninth century, finely carved, whose Latin inscription is of this purport, "In the name of God the Father and the Holy Spirit, Howell raised this cross for the soul of his father Rhys." This Howell was a king of Glamorgan, who died in 885. Very interesting, too, is the churchyard, where the dust of the modern villagers mingles with that of the monks and saints who first consecrated this place to God's service, and made the primitive "wilderness a fruitful place," and "waterspringings" of life where before was the "dry ground" of violence and brutality. Here are seen three ancient relics,—a curious cylindrical pillar, which appears to have belonged to the base of some large cross, and two inscribed stones, the broken remains of fine ninth-century crosses. One was raised by Abbot Samson, "for his soul and the souls of King Juthael and Arthmael the dean"; the other is inscribed on one side with the words, "Samson placed this cross for his soul," and on the opposite side seems to have the names of Illtyd, Samson, and Samuel, its engraver. On a hill to the west of the church stands the gatehouse of the Mediæval monastery of about the thirteenth century, and not far from it is the monks' pigeon-house. All that can be traced of earlier buildings are some ruined walls in a garden to the north of the church and some mounds across the brook to the west behind the vicarage.

Illtyd's church and monastery have disappeared, as is natural with buildings that must have been mainly wooden, but the earth we tread is sacred, and the natural features of the landscape we look upon, —the sea, the brook, the fields,—are the same as gladdened the heart of Illtyd himself when, after he had rested from his journey hither, he looked forth upon the country, and "the delightsome place pleased him well." The writer of his legend, probably a Llantwit monk, describes the scene that he gazed upon. "Around was no unevenness of mountains or hills, but a most fertile plain of meadows; a wood very thick with different kinds of trees grew therein, and was the resort of many wild animals; a most pleasant river flowed between banks on either hand, and springs intermingled with a rivulet in pleasant courses." The name of the place was Hodnant, "the fruitful valley"[1]; it was "the most beautiful of places." Clearly the monk was a lover of nature, though his admiration was rather for the tameness of a level plain and lush meadows where cattle pasture, than for the wild and ragged sublimity of mountain scenery.

In this pleasant retreat, soon after Illtyd's coming, there rose a populous village of wooden huts, grouped around the "oratory" which Illtyd had built, and surrounded with a ditch and a stone wall. All traditions agree in making the number of Illtyd's students very large indeed. The Triads reckon Llantwit

[1] So the monk interprets the Welsh name, but the interpretation has been questioned.

in the first rank of British monasteries, and ascribe to it two thousand four hundred students. "Iltyd," says one tradition, which agrees exactly with this authority, "founded seven churches and appointed seven companies for each church, and seven halls or colleges in each company, and seven saints in each hall or college, and prayer and praise were kept up without ceasing day and night, by twelve saints, men of learning, of each company [1] "Illtyd," says another, "made on the banks of the Hodnant eight score and eight colleges, where two thousand saints resided, leading a life according to the faith of Jesus, practising every godliness fasting, abstinence, prayer, penance, almsgiving and charity, and all of them supported and cultivated learning" [2] One tradition roughly computes the number of the monks at three thousand, [3] and another estimate is two thousand one hundred [4] The terms "hall" and "college" are rather pompous when applied to the simpler arrangements of the primitive Celtic monastery. The original church of Illtyd was probably of wood, and close to it would stand a smaller building, used as a sacristy A little apart from the rest of the village would be two buildings, also wooden, and with little to mark their distinction These were the abbot's house and the guests house The monks were wont to take their meals in common, in refectories somewhat larger than the other buildings,

[1] Iolo MSS, p 555 This perpetual service was called "Laus perennis."

[2] *Ib*, p 549. [3] *Ib*, p 556 [4] *Ib*., p. 548.

connected with which were the kitchens. Each so-called "college" would probably have a refectory of its own, as it is said to have had a separate "oratory," for it would be impossible for two or three thousand people to dine together. By the little river there stood a mill or mills, and a stone kiln beside for drying the corn. The whole village was surrounded by a wall or rampart, either of stone, or earth, or earth mixed with stones.[1] The fields around were cultivated by the monks, or were pastured by cattle, and so the simple wants of the community were supplied. The waters of the Bristol Channel, which at first occasionally flooded the low-lying meadows, were kept out by an embankment. A busy and a pious life was spent in this quiet spot by this Christian colony,—a useful life, too, for which the world was all the better. The students may not have learned much, but probably learned the little well; Gildas, who studied here, had a very thorough acquaintance with the Bible, as his writings prove; and all had healthy work and diet. With no doubts and few cares, their lives were spent in health and happiness.

The legend of Illtyd's life is curious, and not without beauty; "tragical enough," too, as Charles Kingsley remarks; but, unfortunately, very untrustworthy. Perhaps so much may be accepted for

[1] This description is borrowed from Mr. Skene's description of an Irish monastery ("Celtic Scotland," ii. 59). All the indications we possess point to the strong resemblance or identity of the Irish and British method of building monasteries.

truth as that Illtyd was a native of Brittany and a knight in his youth, that he founded Llantwit and some other churches, and introduced an improved method of ploughing in Wales. He is usually known by the Welsh as Illtyd Farchog, or Illtyd the Knight. There is a tradition that he was buried at Capel Illtyd, in Breconshire, but his legend states that he retired to Brittany and died at Dôl. Llantrisant, in Glamorganshire, "the church of the three saints" (as its name means), is dedicated to Illtyd and two less-noted Welsh saints. The legend relates a pathetic story that, when he retired from the world, he left his wife Trynihid. She retired to the mountains, and lived a religious life there. "She built a habitation, and founded an oratory . . . and continued to live devoutly, comforting innumerable widows and poor nuns."

The greatness of Llantwit was not of long duration. Its position in the plain of Glamorgan exposed it to hostile incursions and to English influence. There were "Saxon clerks" at Llantwit as early as 959 A.D. Edgar, when he invaded Glamorganshire, is said to have carried off the sacred bell of St. Illtyd with other plunder. Afterwards, moved by remorse, and startled by a portent, he restored all that he had taken. When, in the reign of William Rufus, Robert Fitzhamon and his band of adventurers conquered part of South Wales and established the Honour of Glamorgan, Llantwit suffered greatly, for the Norman leader robbed it of part of its endowments, and gave them to the abbey of Tewkesbury. Moreover, it

lost for a time the right of sanctuary. In 1150 Nicholas, bishop of Llandaff, restored this right to the churches of Llancarfan, Llantwit, Llandough, St. Fagan's, Caerleon, and Caerwent. Llantwit also seems to have become English in sympathy, for the appendix to the legend of St. Illtyd is quite anti-national in tone, and so the monastery became the object of attacks from patriotic Welshmen. In Fitzhamon's time, three thousand of the northern Welsh attacked it by night: "if they had come by day, they would have had the victory"; and it was only after a most stubborn contest that "the multitude of Gwynedd fled."

The other monasteries of South Wales do not call for any detailed consideration. Ty Gwyn or Whitland, in Carmarthenshire, was the foundation of Bishop Paulinus; Henllan, or Hentland, on the Wye, of St. Dyfrig.

Henllan has been identified with Wig, or Weeg, the traditional see of a bishop.[1] St. Dyfrig also founded Caerleon, among the abbots of which was a certain Gwyndaf Hên, buried at Bardsey, who is said to have been a Breton by nation, and at one time confessor or chaplain at Llantwit.[2] Llandaff was perhaps founded by Teilo, under Dyfrig's patronage,[3] though Dyfrig is also called its principal in traditions.[4] It is often mentioned as Bangor Teilo, "Teilo's college."

[1] Iolo MSS., p. 548.
[2] Rees, "Welsh Saints," p. 219.
[3] *Ib.*, p. 243.
[4] Iolo MSS., p. 557.

Caerwent, founded by Prince Ynyr Gwent, had as its first abbot the Irishman St. Fathan, the preceptor of Cadoc, whose name is preserved in a distorted form in the Glamorganshire village of St. Athan's. The abbot of Docwinni is mentioned in the "Liber Landavensis" as one of the three chief abbots of the diocese of Llandaff, and the site of his abbey may perhaps be identified with Llandough,[1] which recovered its right of sanctuary in the time of Bishop Nicholas. The present church of Llandough stands on a hill overlooking the serpentine and muddy course of the little River Ely, and opposite to the busy port of Cardiff. There is an ancient cross in its churchyard, ornamented with curious knot-work, similar to that of the Llantwit crosses. There were also, we are told, other colleges in the near neighbourhood of Cardiff at St. Fagan's[2] and Llanedeyrn. The former, whose foundation is ascribed to the legendary Fagan, shared in the benefits of Bishop Nicholas's order, the latter is said to have contained three hundred saints, and to have been founded by Edeyrn,[3] a disciple of Cadoc, and a son of

[1] Clarke, "Land of Morgan," p. 10. But Rees ("Welsh Saints," p. 220) gives Bishop Dochdwy as probable founder of Llandough, whereas the founder of Docwinni is said to have been Cungarus, otherwise called Docwinnus (*ib.*, 183). A tradition in Iolo MSS. (p. 557) mentions "The college of *Dochwy* in Morganwg with a thousand saints."

[2] Iolo MSS., p. 557.

[3] Rees, "Welsh Saints," p. 180. Iolo MSS., p. 636. Another tradition (*ib.*, p. 557) mentions "*Eurdeyrn* as principal with a thousand saints."

Gwrtheyrn, the wicked Vortigern of history and romance.[1]

Menevia, or St. David's, is chiefly notable for its founder, the patron saint of Wales, and for its fosterage of Irish Christianity. Few trustworthy details can be added to the brief summary of its work which has already been given, although the legends are full of stories which make the student sigh or at times smile, so racy are they of the soil from which they have sprung. Of St. Aedh of Ferns,[2]

[1] A traditional list of Welsh monasteries in that curious repertory, the Iolo MSS. (p. 557), mentions also "Bangor Aidan with seven colleges and two thousand saints after the names of the seven days of the week"; "The college of Mechell, in Anglesey, for a hundred saints"; "The college of Cawrdaf, in Morganwg, for three hundred saints"; "The college of Elbod, in Bangor, or Elbod, in Arvon, and Elbod was principal over five hundred saints"; "The college of Sarlloc, in Llandaff, for thirty saints, and Sarlloc was the principal." Aidan was David's Irish disciple, Aedh; Mechell was founder of Llanfechell, in Anglesey; Cawrdaf was a prince of Brecknockshire, who retired to live as a monk at Llantwit; Elbod was the bishop of Bangor who introduced the Roman Easter into the British Church.—See Rees, "Welsh Saints," pp. 270, 305, 308. Bangor Elbod and Sarlloc's college at Llandaff are possibly the same as Bangor, or Bangor Deiniol, and Teilo's Llandaff college. A monastery is said ("Four Ancient Books of Wales," ii., pp. 237, 431) to have been founded at Trallwng, now Welshpool, by St. Llewelyn, in the sixth century. Pennant ("Tours in Wales," iii., p. 163) tells a story of the foundation of an abbey at Pennant, close to the Berwyn Mountains, by Brochwael Ysgythrog, Prince of Powys, for St. Melangell, the patroness of hares.

[2] This saint is also called Moedhog, or Maidoc, a name which illustrates a peculiar Irish custom. "The Irish," says Todd

one of David's disciples, we are told that, when a boy, he was keeping a flock of sheep, and seeing eight hungry wolves pass by, he was so moved with exceeding pity that he gave them each a wether to eat. This, perhaps, may be deemed a superior tale to that of Buddha's compassion for the starving tigress, to satisfy whom he gave himself to be eaten, for it contains an additional element of genuine humour peculiarly its own. Besides Finnian of Clonard, with Molac and Bar, who have been mentioned previously, Scuthin and Senanus are said to have visited David at Menevia.[1] To Senanus David is said to have given his own staff on his departure as a pledge of friendship and brotherhood.

Perhaps we may gather from the facts of David's

("St. Patrick," p. 115, *note*), "had two ways of expressing devotion to a particular saint. The first was by using the diminutive of his name. The second was by prefixing to his name the pronoun *mo*, my. Sometimes, as in the present case, both were combined. *Aedh* was this bishop's original name; the Latin diminutive form was *Aedanus*: the Irish diminutive *Aedh-og*, to which if we prefix *mo*, we have *Mo-aedh-og*, or *Moedhog*, or, as it is pronounced, *Mogue*. . . . . It is a curious circumstance that in the diocese of Ferns the peasantry, who are of English descent, call their children *Aedan*, or *Edan*: those of Irish descent call their children *Mogue* to this day."

[1] Menevia is the Latinised form of the Welsh Mynyw. The place was originally called Hen-fynyw, "the old bramble-bush." The Irish called it Killmuine. The "Annales Cambriæ" call it once Moni Judeorum. These Judei are not Jews, but are supposed by Rhys ("Celtic Britain," p. 150 to be some non-Celtic tribe. The Irish used to call the Firth of Forth "the Sea of the Giuds."

work for Ireland some information as to the length of the saint's laborious life. Rhyddmarch, in his legendary life, states that he lived to the age of one hundred and forty-seven years, which is too much to be credited, but it is not improbable that his life was of unusual length. According to the Irish annals, St. Finnian of Clonard, who was St. David's disciple, or at least his associate, died in 552, whereas another disciple, St. Aedh, did not die till 632. As we have seen, the "Annales Cambriæ" give the date of St. David's death as 601, and, although this seems very late when compared with Finnian's date, it harmonises very well with the date of Aedh, so that we are led to the conclusion that David's life must have extended over nearly the whole of the sixth century.[1]

[1] Even Columba of Iona, who was a disciple of Finnian of Clonard, and who died in his seventy sixth year, died before St David (597).

CHAPTER XV.

BRITISH MONASTERIES OUTSIDE WALES.—THE RESULTS OF WALES'S WORK FOR IRELAND.

We have certain knowledge of very few monasteries of British foundation outside Wales. There were a few in Cornwall; in Somerset there was Glastonbury, which at a later period was so renowned; and in Galloway there was St Ninian's foundation of Candida Casa, or Whithorne.

The only two Cornish monasteries which quite certainly belong to the Ancient British Church are St. Germain's and Bodmin, or Petrockstow. St Petroc, who gave his name to the latter, is said to have lived in the sixth century, and to have died at Bodmin. He is reputed to have been the uncle of St. Cadoc, and a young brother of Gwynllyw.

There are also a few foundations which are certainly early, and may possibly be British. Such are a monastery at Launceston, the prebendal church of St. Probus, and the collegiate churches of St. Carantoc and Perranzabuloe. Of these the most interesting is the last, the church of "St. Piran or Perran in the sand" (*in sabulo*), as its uncouth name means. Whelmed by the sand in very early times, it was recovered in perfect condition in 1835, only to be reduced to ruins in a short time by irreverent hands.

It was a small, rude building, divided into chancel and nave, with traces of a screen. At the east end was a stone altar, standing lengthwise east and west, beneath which were found three skeletons. It had little ornament save a plain moulding around the south door, with three heads, one of a leopard at the keystone, and two human heads, one on each side at the spring of the arch. There were two windows, one on the south side near its east end and the other in the centre of the east wall. In the northern corner of the east wall was a second doorway, and stone seats ran round the north and west sides of the interior and along the south side as far as the chancel screen. The whole length of the building was 29 ft., the breadth 16½ ft., the height of the gables 19 ft., and of the north and south walls 13 ft. The walls were two feet thick. "The stones which form the building are thrown together without any attempt at regular courses, or any regard to what masons term 'joints.' They consist of pieces of moorstone, quartz, porphyry, slates, &c., all collected in the immediate neighbourhood, and some of them round and smooth, as if taken from the bead of a stream. All these appear to have been put together in the rudest and simplest way, imbedded in the clay mortar, according to the Roman method, but without the tiles and flat stones the Romans used to bind their work."[1] Near the church was a small cell. "Lanpiran" (Piran's church) is mentioned as a collegiate church in

[1] Haslam's "Perranzabuloe," p. 68.

Domesday Book. St. Piran, or Ciaran, was an Irishman by birth, a friend of St. Patrick, and bishop of Saighir in his own country. The story of his visit to Cornwall is doubtful. He is said to have been sent by St. Patrick, to have landed at Pendinas, now called St. Ives, from Ia, one of his companions, and to have been buried at Lanpiran about 480. He was long the patron saint of the Cornish tinners. There was once a St. Perine's chapel at Cardiff. Other ancient churches in Cornwall have been preserved by the whelming sand for the study of archæologists, and ancient inscriptions and crosses testify to early Cornish Christianity in periods before and after the establishment of Saxon rule.

The most illustrious of all the monasteries of British foundation was that of Glastonbury. Founded in the island of Avallon (Ynys Afallen, the island of apples), or Ynyswitrin, the church of St. Mary, was originally a mean structure of wattle; but so great were the benefactions which it received in later times that it became transformed into one of the most magnificent edifices in the country, the extent and beauty of whose ruins still compel the astonishment and admiration of all who visit them. One story attributed its foundation to the missionaries sent over to Lucius, but this savoured too little of marvel to satisfy all tastes, and so arose the legend of Joseph of Arimathæa and his twelve companions, who came thither bearing the Holy Grail, and who by angelic command built a chapel of branches of willow. All the British saints must needs also do honour to

the place, and so Gildas is "captivated by its sanctity," and dwells there for many years; David comes with seven suffragan bishops purposing to dedicate it, but is taught by a vision that the Lord has already dedicated it to His mother. Brigid comes from Ireland, and leaves there her "necklace, scrip, and implements for embroidering", and Patrick, after his work in Ireland is done, spends there his last years as abbot, and there is buried. There, too, was laid to rest the body of the British hero, King Arthur. So many, indeed, and so powerful were its patrons, according to these stories, that William of Malmesbury supposed that none of its inhabitants could ever fail of winning heaven, when assisted by their virtues and intercession. The marvellous preservation of the building gave some colour to such belief. When the Pagan English burst into the west, captured Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath, and even burned "the white town in the valley," Uriconium, near the Wrekin, whose remains can still be seen, they passed in their march to the east of Glastonbury and left it untouched, and it did not fall into the invaders' hands until the fierce conqueror had himself been conquered by the Cross, and so reverenced the captured shrine. Bishop Paulinus, of Rochester, is said to have covered the wattle structure with a casing of boards and lead, for he would not destroy the older work, fearing to diminish the sanctity of the edifice in his endeavour to increase its beauty. In 601, in the time of Bishop Maworn and Abbot Worgrez, the British king of Damnonia granted the

monastery five cassates of land, or about five hundred acres. But the greatest benefactor was the Saxon king Ine, who erected in 725 a new church, dedicated to the holy Apostles, and gave it an ample endowment and large privileges, confirming also all that had been given previously by his predecessors, Chenewalch, Chentwin, Chedwalla, and Baltred. Even in 601 the church of St. Mary was known as "the old church," a name which it continued to hold, while the awe and reverence with which it was regarded were increased by lapse of years; to swear by it was the most sacred oath that any one in the district could take; to pray in it was to secure acquittal in the trial by ordeal, only one instance of failure being known. Its ground, hallowed by the bones and ashes of saints, was so awful that scarce any one dared to keep vigil there by night; no one built near it so as to obstruct its light; no one would bring horse or hawk within its cemetery. Pilgrims thither in the twelfth century were astonished on their approach by beholding near it two ancient pyramids,—one of five stories and 28 ft. in height, adorned with statues, and inscribed with names which could still be deciphered, although it was threatening to fall from extreme age; the other of four stories and 26 ft. in height, also inscribed with names, in this case of well-known abbots and patrons. Within the church there were greater marvels still: its altar was laden above and beneath with a multitude of relics; on the right side stood the stone pyramid, cased with silver, in which, the pilgrims were

told, lay the sacred ashes of St. Patrick; on the left side another with the bodies of St. Indract and St. Hilda; the floor was inlaid with polished stone, and on every side it contained stones laid in triangles and squares, and sealed with lead, under which some sacred mystery was supposed to be hidden.[1] Yet, for all the sanctity and religious awe which encompassed Glastonbury, the pilgrims would remember how some years before, in 1083, it was the scene of a great deed of sacrilege, when Abbot Thurstan, in his zeal to introduce a new method of chanting, brought in French soldiers to coerce the obstinate monks, who shot at them as they lay around the altar, killed some and wounded many, and even (so men told with horror) pierced the crucifix itself with their arrows. As he looked upon the crucifix, no doubt many an English pilgrim would think, or perchance would whisper to safe ears, for Englishmen were ever outspoken and wont to criticise their rulers,—"A woeful change from the time of the good Abbot Dunstan, who beautified this monastery or ever the Norman tyrants came to England." One more catastrophe was to befall Glastonbury before the last and greatest. In the time of Henry II. there was a great fire, but the monastery was again restored by Ralph Fitzstephen, acting on the king's instructions. Such a calamity as this was unavoidable and not unfrequent in the history of monasteries, but none of the pilgrims could have foreseen, as they looked towards the picturesque

[1] William of Malmesbury, "Gesta Regum Anglorum," i. 19-36; "De Antiq. Glaston. Eccl."

Torre Hill, that four centuries after their time the abbot of Glastonbury, Whiting by name, "a very sick and weakly old man," but resolute in his opposition to sacrilege and tyranny, would be executed with two of his monks on that hill, the four quarters of his body being placed respectively at Wells, Bath, Ilchester, and Bridgewater, and his head upon the gate of his own abbey. The monastery, which had escaped the destroying hand of the Pagan Saxons, was broken down ruthlessly, without regard either for its sanctity or its beauty; but Nature, clothing it with fresh grace and pathetic dignity, has sought to remedy the ravages of man.

But the lust of destruction, the hatred or disregard of things holy, are not yet extinct in the heart of man, though now they may excite peasants more frequently than kings. The antiquities of the early Christianity of Galloway, which escaped the iconoclastic zeal of Reformers, have survived only to be battered and defaced in our own day. Some time ago most interesting discoveries were made in a cave in the parish of Glasserton, Wigtonshire, adjacent to Whithorn. Local tradition has always associated this cave with the early British Christians, and it has borne the name of St. Ninian's cave. There were found a stone pavement; no less than eighteen crosses, carved either on the walls of the cave or on separate flags or boulders; a Latin inscription; a human skeleton; and "a boulder in which was formed a cup either for baptismal or domestic purposes." Besides these remarkable discoveries in the

cave itself, others of much interest and importance were made in a large grass-covered mound at the cave's mouth. The most valuable was a flag of very hard rock "richly carved over the entire surface of one face with an intricate interlaced cruciform design. The lower part of the shaft was occupied by an oblong panel bearing an inscription in Runic characters,"[1] which has been assigned to the sixth century. All these relics were carefully arranged in the cave, and protected by a railing and a gate at the entrance; but, to the great pain and indignation of all Scotchmen of culture and right feeling, on last Whithorn fast-day an outrage was perpetrated by some miscreants, who hurled large stones at the crosses, and succeeded in doing great damage. The remains of a broken whisky bottle lying among the fragments of the crosses point the moral of this sacrilegious deed, perpetrated by the humble imitators of the royal iconoclast.

St. Ninias' College at Whitherne, or Whithorn, was the most notable among monasteries of British origin in what we now call Scotland. St. Kentigern also, according to the testimony of his biographer Jocelyn, founded monasteries there, but the work of Whitherne for Ireland gives it a higher name and rank

[1] *Scotsman*, Aug. 13, 1886. In a vigorous article it asks, "Is it to be supposed that this Vandalism has been the act of Whithorn keepers of a fast-day? Or are we to suppose that some iconoclasts, filled with holy zeal and malt-spirit, have sought to vindicate their Protestantism by demolishing crosses? . . . . We prefer to think that the perpetrators were simply mischievous brutes to whom nothing is sacred."

than these One of its abbots, Bishop Cairnech, visited Ireland, and 'became the first bishop of the clan Niall and of Teamhar, or Tara, and he was the first martyr and the first monk of Erin" Other statements in the legend show that this happened before 478 A.D.,[1] and, therefore, probably in the lifetime of St. Patrick, who, according to the Irish annals, died in 492 or 493 Whatever may have been the origin of St Patrick's mission, it is clear that he was aided much by the British Church, as "Romans (that is, probably, men of the Roman province of Britain) and Britons also are mentioned among his bishops Some of his clergy, as the ten sons of Brecan, appear to have come from Scotland.[2] The early connexion of Whitherne with Ireland is, therefore, under the circumstances, quite natural, especially if Patrick himself were a native of Dumbarton

But St Patrick's church, though it contained "monks and virgins of Christ," was essentially composed of secular clergy it "rejected not the services and society of women" What Whitherne and the

[1] Skene, "Celtic Scotland" ii p 40
See further Todd's St Patrick, pp 496 7

[2] Skene, "Celtic Scotland, ii p 23 In *Litany of Angus*, 'fifty men of the Britons with Monan' are mentioned among St Patrick's clergy Mochta abbot of Louth, who is called the presbyter or archi presbyter of Patrick, was a Briton.—See Todd, "St Patrick," p 29

[3] Skene, "Celtic Scotland, ii p 36, *note*

[4] "Confession of St. Patrick"

[5] *Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland*, Todd's "St Patrick," p 88

Welsh monasteries did was to infuse the monastic spirit, and so transform the church into a monastic church The second order of saints (544–572), which reverenced David, Gildas, and Cadoc as the authors of their liturgy or liturgies, "refused the services of women, separating them from their monasteries." Whitherne acted chiefly on the north of Ireland, the Welsh monasteries on the centre and south. Whitherne, as has just been shown, was earlier in sending out a missionary, for Gildas' mission was a hundred years later than that of Cairnech. It was also probably earlier in receiving students, for St. Monenna, who sent Brignat, one of her maidens, thither, died as early as 519. As we have seen already, a reaction set in after St. Patrick's death; paganism, crime, perhaps heresy, threatened to undo his work, and so earnest men and women looked with interest on British monasticism, hoping to find therein a more potent machinery for Christian work than they already possessed.

It will be useful, before passing on to that struggle for independence in which the Churches of Britain and Ireland were so closely allied against the intrusion of Rome, to trace briefly what the students whom Britain trained did for the Irish Church, and to compute the total debt that Ireland owed to Britain. Finnian of Clonard, St. David's friend, we are told, returned to Ireland "to restore the faith which had fallen into neglect after the death of St. Patrick," and "to gather together a people acceptable to the Lord." At his monastery of Clonard he was

the "foster-father of the saints of Ireland," and trained those who were called "the Twelve Apostles of Ireland."[1] Among the Whitherne students the other Finnian, of Maghbile, or Moyville, was the most notable. He came as a boy to Whitherne, and is said by tradition to have "first brought the *Gospel* to Ireland"; that is, possibly, St. Jerome's translation of the Gospel. St. Enda, sent by his sister in his youth to study at Whitherne under Mancenus, founded a monastery on one of the Aran islands, on the west coast of Ireland. Tighernac and Eugenius were scarcely voluntary students; they were carried to Britain when boys by pirates, but were sent to Whitherne at the queen's intercession. Tighernac founded the monastery of Galloon in Lough Erne, Eugenius Ardstrath (Ardstraw), near Derry.

To the British Church, therefore, must be ascribed a great share both in founding and building up the Church of Ireland. But the ultimate results of its action were greater than these. Monasticism supplied exactly what Ireland needed, and a most extraordinary outburst of zeal and enthusiasm followed. Ireland became the isle of saints; missionaries went forth thence to all parts, as from the Holy Land in the first century of Christianity, when the cross and the open tomb were yet fresh in men's minds. She, too, had her Twelve Apostles, as Palestine had had

[1] Among these were Columba of Iona; Brendan, who gathered round him 3,000 monks at Clonfert; and Ciaran, "the son of the artificer," who founded in 548 the monastery of Clonmacnois.

hers. Some nations, like China, have a long but comparatively barren life; some, like England, develop slowly but continuously, and can produce successive harvests without impoverishing the soil; others, like the state of Athens, have a sudden and splendid blossoming of vigour and youth, but it is brief and transient. Ireland belongs to the last class. If, however, "better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay" be a good maxim, Ireland need not too bitterly bemoan her fortune. History, indeed, which has extolled Athens, has neglected her, but this merely shows what bad Christians we are, and how we still judge according to worldly and pagan standards. "The glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another," and Ireland's glory was of the former class. Not only were the monasteries renowned far and wide for their learning, for their study of the arts, for their transcription of manuscripts, which were dispersed over Europe, and are still the pride of many a library, but they poured forth saints, who carried to other lands the same burning zeal. Thirteen monasteries were founded by the Irish in Scotland, twelve in England, seven in France, twelve in Armorica (Brittany), seven in Lorraine, ten in Alsatia, sixteen in Bavaria, fifteen in Rhetia, Helvetia, and Allemania; also many in Thuringia and on the left bank of the Lower Rhine; and six in Italy. Of saints of Irish origin who are recognised as the patrons or founders of churches, there were a hundred and fifty in Germany, of whom thirty-six were martyrs; forty-five in Gaul, thirty in

Belgium, thirteen in Italy, and eight in Norway and Iceland.[1] Of all these saints two stand pre-eminent, who, from the similarity of their names, have occasionally been confounded with one another. Columba of Iona, the apostle of Scotland, was trained by Finnian of Moyville and by Finnian of Clonard, and thus was the spiritual offspring both of Whitherne and Wales. Columbanus, born in 543, the year of the death of St. Benedict, penetrated with his missionary band into France, Switzerland, and Italy, and founded at the foot of the Vosges, amid relics of Roman greatness and Gaulish idolatry, the great monastery of Luxeuil, and in a gorge of the Apennines, not far from the site of Hannibal's victory of Trebbia, the no less notable abbey of Bobbio, "the citadel of orthodoxy against the Arians—a focus of knowledge and instruction which was long the light of northern Italy."[2] The abbey of Luxeuil planted other monasteries, and, for a time, it seemed as if the stern rule of Columbanus would prevail over that of Benedict, and establish itself as the universal rule of the West.

Strange to our more sober days are many of the stories of the enthusiasm of this period. When we read how St. Tathan, Cadoc's Irish

[1] Montalembert, "Monks of the West," bk. ix. c. viii. Virgil, or Fergil, abbot of Saltzburgh, an Irishman, was called "the Geometer," because he propounded the theory of the sphericity of the earth and the existence of the antipodes.—Todd, "St. Patrick," pp. 64–5.

[2] Montalembert, vol. ii. p. 438 (authorised translation).

preceptor, sailed away from Ireland with his companions in a vessel without sails and oars, trusting in the mercy of God to carry them whither He would, we may, perhaps, smile and say, "Another monkish fable!" But the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," a respectable authority, tells an exactly similar tale of three Irishmen who desired "to be in a state of pilgrimage they recked not where," and were brought to shore in Cornwall in the days of King Alfred. The strange, wild story of St. Brendan's voyage, that "monkish Odyssey" which has fascinated alike Charles Kingsley and Matthew Arnold, did not seem impossible to men of this type. Some of Matthew Arnold's verses describe what may have been an actual experience of some of the bolder spirits among the Irish missionaries:—

Saint Brandan sails the northern main;
The brotherhood of saints are glad,
He greets them once, he sails again;
So late!—such storms!—The saint is mad.

He heard, across the howling seas,
Chime convent-bells on wintry nights;
He saw, on spray-swept Hebrides,
Twinkle the monastery lights.

But north, still north, St. Brandan steer'd:
And now no bells, no convents more!
The hurtling Polar lights are near'd,
The sea without a human shore.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.—I. THE SAXON CONQUEST, AND THE SUBSEQUENT POSITION OF THE CELTIC CHURCHES TOWARDS ROME.

THEIR Lord they will praise,
Their speech they will keep,
Their land they will love,
Except wild Wales.

So sings the pseudo-Taliesin of the conquest of Britain by the English, the race of "the coiling serpent." It is unnecessary to tell the tale here; Bede gives the sum of the whole matter, so far as the British Church is concerned, in a few words:—"The conflagration spread from the eastern to the western sea. . . . Public and private buildings were overthrown; everywhere priests were butchered before the altars; prelates and people, without any respect of persons, were destroyed by fire and sword." Christianity and whatever survived of Roman civilisation were driven back to the West. At the time of Augustine's landing all that remained to the Britons was Strathclyde, extending along the coast from the mouth of the Clyde to the Dee, with the districts of Elmet and Loidis, in Yorkshire, and part of the midlands; North Wales, or the country west of the

Severn; and West Wales, comprising Cornwall and Devon, with parts of Somerset and Gloucestershire. The Highlands of Scotland were inhabited by the savage and pagan Picts; the islands and Western Highlands by the Scots from Ireland, among whom the Irish missionary, St. Columba, had already settled in 563, and begun his great work. In parts of the English district, Britons may have remained as the slaves or subjects of the conquerors, but here and there, at least, a policy of total extermination had been carried out: —

> Another language spreads from coast to coast;
> Only perchance some melancholy stream
> And some indignant hills old names preserve,
> When laws, and creeds, and people all are lost.[1]

The testimony of Gildas proves that there had been numerous Christian churches all over Roman Britain; but so great were the ravages of the pagans, that it is only possible to trace a few outside Wales and Cornwall. Glastonbury is but an illustrious exception. St. Martin's, at Canterbury, still contains Roman bricks, and the visitor looks with interest upon the huge font in which his guide tells him the first Christian king of Kent was baptised. The piety of Queen Bertha, who used this church as her oratory, and the timely care of Augustine, preserved here one monument of the earlier Christianity of Britain. In the city itself, Augustine "recovered a church," on the site of which stands now the glorious cathedral.

[1] Wordsworth.

There are also traditions of ancient British churches at St. Alban's and Evesham. Although the early churches of the Britons were generally constructed of wood, it would appear that in districts which came thoroughly under the influence of Roman civilisation, churches of more solid construction were not uncommon, and so among the ruins of Roman greatness, melancholy memorials of a strong and haughty race, whose long but barren sojourn has left the scantiest traces on our national life and civilisation, we find occasional relics of Christian churches. These are mostly in Kent. In the castle at Dover there are remains, probably of the fourth and fifth centuries; at Richborough, the old Rutupiae, in the camp, there is a ruin of cruciform shape on a platform of Roman work, which has been supposed to be the base of a church; and at Reculver and Lyminge Roman bricks or Roman work can be traced. A church at Brixworth, in Northamptonshire, is also supposed to have been a Roman basilica.[1] Fragments of monuments, pottery, tiles, and bricks of Roman date, which testify to the faith of early ages, have been found in various parts of the country. A brick was found in the seventeenth century in Mark Lane, London, stamped with figures supposed to

[1] "The walls are Roman with the arches filled up with rubble-work; the arches are formed of Roman tiles, and are double, one over the other, for additional strength. . . . It has a tower of the eleventh century at the west end built upon the Roman walls either of a porch or a western tribune."—Parker, "Introduction to Gothic Architecture," p. 9.

represent Samson and the foxes. Even a trace of a semi-Christian heresy has been discovered in Carnarvonshire, near the old wall of the Roman post of Segontium (Caer Seon),—a gold Basilidan talisman, with an inscription partly in Greek letters and partly in magical characters. But when, in 597, Augustine landed for the conquest of Britain at the very place where the pagan leaders had first set foot upon British soil, Christianity, whether that of Roman settlers or of native Britons, must have appeared almost extinct in Saxon districts. Slaves may still in secret have uttered their prayers and lamentations to the God of their fathers, but all the visible sign of the sacred flame was a queen of foreign birth, worshipping, with her chaplain and attendants, in a rescued church. "We beseech Thee," sang Augustine and his monks as, with cross and picture, they drew near to Canterbury, "we beseech Thee, O Lord, in Thy great mercy, that Thy anger and wrath be turned away from this city and from Thy holy house, because we have sinned. Alleluia." Faint as was the light then, it was yet to revive so as to make England in the future a leader in religious enterprise, so that even n the present century, despite carelessness and practical unbelief, despite schisms and rivalries, despite secularism and agnosticism, the Count de Montalembert, a great champion of Romanism, was forced to acknowledge that the English nation "has remained, even in the bosom of error, the most religious of all European nations."

Nearly two centuries had elapsed between the

departure of the Roman legions and the arrival of the Roman missionaries. Before 410 the British Church had been a part of the Church of the Empire, which regarded the bishop of Rome as its head without ascribing to him that exaggerated authority which is now connected with the name of pope.[1] The primacy was distinctly recognised by the Council of Arles, in 314, and the deputies from Britain who were present had assented with the rest to the canon which provided that the time of observing Easter should be fixed by letters from the bishop of Rome, so that the whole of Christendom might be at unity in this matter.[2] Even so late as 455, the directions of Pope Leo the Great on the subject of Easter were followed by the British Church in the case of a temporary difference between Rome and Alexandria.[3] The mission of St. German in 429, according to the contemporary testimony of Prosper, received the sanction of Pope Celestine,[4] and the same pope, in 431, sent Palladius as a bishop to the Scots of Ireland. But after the middle of the fifth century this primacy of the bishop of Rome practically ceased, and when, in 457, the Churches

[1] Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 2.

[2] Canon I. See Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 7.

[3] *Ib.*, p. 152, *note*. The "Annales Cambriæ" states, under the year 453, "Easter is changed on the Lord's day with Pope Leo, bishop of Rome."

[4] Prosper was himself in Rome in 431, and must have known the facts of the case. Our other authority, Constantius, who was a contemporary of St. German many years, only mentions the circumstance of the choice of German and Lupus by the Gallican bishops, but both accounts may be true.

subject to Rome adopted a new rule for the calculation of Easter, the Britons were too fully occupied with their struggle with the English to take any notice of the change. This was the year of the great Battle of Crayford, "and the Britons then forsook Kent, and in great terror fled to London."[1] For the next century and a half the Celtic Churches lived in isolation and perfect independence. It was probably during this period that Christianity became national in Britain. During the Roman occupation it was the religion of the dominant race, and perhaps wore something of a foreign garb, and so it may have lacked some of the vigour and whole-heartedness that characterise a religion which has its roots in the national life. If this be indeed so, it may in part explain the utter prostration of spirit, the anarchy and feebleness, that characterise the first period of the struggle with the pagans. Left to themselves, and beset by the English from the east and south, by the Picts and Scots from the north, and by the Irish from the west, the Britons seemed, at first, about to relapse into barbarism, and lose alike their civilisation and their Christianity. But their fiery trial did its work; there were sterling qualities yet in the race, and their troubles brought them nearer to God than they had been before. Then deliverers arose who checked the advance of their enemies; intestine discords were in part laid aside, and powerful states were created as bulwarks; and at the same time there was born also the

[1] The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle."

monastic spirit, the offspring of the Gallican Church, which regenerated the Christianity of the island, revived its culture and civilisation, and made the British Church a Celtic and a National Church. Christianity, formerly, perhaps, a feeble exotic, became the passion of the race. But, while all this was going on, the Britons were quite cut off from the Continent, and so they still retained the old style of Easter, which the Roman Christians had abandoned, and differed from them also in various local customs, such as the form of the tonsure Consequently, when intercourse was renewed between the Celtic Churches and Rome, and the latter claimed to resume all the authority which she had exercised over the Church of the Roman province, and to establish it a little more thoroughly, the Britons and the Irish were altogether unwilling to obey. When, about 573, Columbanus, the Irish missionary, appeared in Gaul, the Gallican bishops noticed the peculiar customs which he and his companions observed, and after some time made them matter of charge against them Columbanus met these attacks with vigour and decision; he was anxious to dwell in peace, but would not abandon his national customs. He, "Columbanus, the sinner" (so he termed himself), begged the bishops of Gaul for one single favour, that he might be left to live in silence in the depth of the forests, near the bones of seventeen brethren whom already he had seen die. "Ah," he continued, "let us live with you in this Gaul where we now are, since we are destined to live with each other in heaven, if we are found worthy to enter

there. . . . . I dare not go to you for fear of entering into some contention with you, but I confess to you the secrets of my conscience, and how I believe, above all, in the tradition of my country, which is, besides, that of St. Jerome. . . . . Regard us not as strangers to you; for all of us, whether Gauls or Britons, Spaniards or others, are members of the same body."[1] Confronted with the authority of Rome and St. Peter, he respectfully but boldly asserted his independence of the Holy See. He attempted to bring over Pope Gregory by argument; he justified his position against Pope Boniface IV.; nay, he even rebuked the latter for acts which appeared to him censurable. He acknowledged the supremacy of the popes over the various provinces of the Roman Empire, but claimed that he himself did not belong to any of these subordinate Churches, but to "the Barbarians" outside, and appealed "to the judgment of the 150 fathers of the Council of Constantinople,[2] who judged that the churches of God established among the Barbarians should live according to the laws taught them by their fathers." In one eloquent passage, while he acknowledges to the full the greatness of Rome, he professes still greater reverence for Jerusalem:—"I confess," he says, "that I lament over the bad reputation of the chair of St. Peter in this country (viz., Italy) . . . . We are bound to the

[1] Montalembert's "Monks of the West," ii. 408–9.—See also Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. pp. 6–11.

[2] *I.e.*, the second Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381.

chair of St. Peter; for, however great and glorious Rome may be, it is this chair which makes her great and glorious among us. Although the name of the ancient city, the glory of Ausonia, has been spread through the world as something supremely august, by the too great admiration of the nations, for us you are only august and great since the incarnation of God, since the Spirit of God has breathed upon us, and since the Son of God, in his car drawn by those two ardent coursers of God, Peter and Paul, has crossed the oceans of nations to come to us. Still more, because of the two great apostles of Christ, you are almost celestial, and Rome is the head of the Churches of the whole world, *excepting only the prerogative of the place of Divine resurrection.*"[1] These words probably express what was the general feeling of Celtic Christians—a reverence for the see of Rome which was not incompatible with a spirit of perfect independence, and at the same time an equal or greater reverence for Jerusalem. The legends of the Welsh saints bear similar testimony. It is to Jerusalem that David, the patron saint of Wales, is represented as going on pilgrimage, and thither also Padarn, Teilo, Cybi, Cadoc, and King Arthur are taken by legend and romance. Cadoc is also taken to Rome, as are Beuno, Brynach, Oudoceus, and Cadwaladr. The spirit which animated Columbanus was that which animated the British Church, and it needed skilful management on the part of the new

[1] Montalembert, II. 441–2.

Roman mission, if the claims of the Holy See were to be readily acknowledged.

If we scan carefully the partial narrative of Bede, we may, perhaps, find indications that Augustine lacked the skill and tact which the circumstances demanded. It was natural that, since he found around him traces of an earlier and powerful Christianity, he should look with interest upon the British Christians of the west of the Island, it was, perhaps, also natural that, as he derived his authority directly from Rome, he should not have much consideration for their national feeling and their independent spirit. In answer to his request for instructions how to deal with the bishops of France and Britain, Gregory ordered him not to assume authority over the former, as the bishop of Arles had already received his pall from Rome, but "as for all the bishops of Britain," he continued, "we commit them to your care, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority." At the same time, he was far from insisting upon a rigid compliance in all respects with the customs of the Church of Rome, what was good in the Roman, the Gallican, or any other Church, might be used by the new mission It is clear from Gregory's language that, as Giraldus Cambrensis ascertained afterwards, no pall had ever been granted from Rome to a British bishop

Just at the end of the twelfth century Giraldus attempted to get the Pope to declare the Welsh Church independent of Canterbury, and recognise

St. David's as the seat of an Archbishopric. He gives a most interesting description of an interview which he had with the Pope, at which the Papal register was produced, containing a list of Metropolitan and other bishoprics throughout Christendom. This, however, was found to prove nothing either way, whereas, if there had been evidence of the granting of a pall at any time by the see of Rome, the matter could have been straightway decided.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.—II. THE CONFERENCES WITH AUGUSTINE.

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to the history of lost causes; but, unfortunately, that history is often obscured because it is derived almost wholly from one side. This is the case with the story of the conferences between Augustine and the British Christians. Bede is practically our only authority; and, although he is honest and large-hearted enough at times to admire goodness in those who differ from him, he was fully convinced of the righteousness of Augustine, and the grievous wickedness of the opposition to his demands.

According to this historian, Augustine, probably about 603, drew together to a conference the bishops or doctors of the nearest province of the Britons, availing himself in this matter of the help of his convert, King Ethelbert. The meeting took place at Augustine's Oak, on the borders of the Huicii and West Saxons,—a locality which has been identified with Austcliff on the Severn. Augustine began by exhorting the Britons to unity with him in the matter of the time of the observance of Easter and other points of ritual, and invited their co-operation in the

work of preaching the Gospel to the Saxons. The British bishops argued long in support of their own customs; but at last the holy father Augustine put an end to this troublesome and tedious contention, saying, "Let us beg of God, who makes men to be of one mind in His Father's house, that He will vouchsafe, by His heavenly tokens, to declare to us which tradition is to be followed, and by what means we are to find our way to His heavenly kingdom. Let some infirm person be brought, and let the faith and practice of those by whose prayers he shall be healed be looked upon as acceptable to God, and be adopted by all." The Britons unwillingly consented, where upon a blind man, of the race of the Angles, was brought, and the British priests essayed to heal him, but failed. Then Augustine bowed his knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and prayed that the lost sight might be restored to the blind man, and, by the enlightening of his body, the light of spiritual grace might be kindled in the hearts of many of the faithful. Immediately the blind man received sight, and the Britons acknowledged that it was the true way of righteousness which Augustine taught, but said that they could not cast off their ancient customs without the consent of the people. A second conference was accordingly agreed upon.

There assembled at the second conference seven bishops of the Britons, and many very learned men, particularly from their chief monastery, Bangor-Iscoed, over which the Abbot "Dinoot" is said to have presided at that time. Before going to the conference,

the British delegates repaired to a holy and discreet hermit of their nation, from whom they inquired whether they should desert their own traditions and accept those of Augustine. He answered: "If he be a man of God, follow him" "How shall we prove that?" said they. He replied "Our Lord saith, Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart, if therefore this Augustine be meek and lowly of heart, it is to be believed that he has taken upon him the yoke of Christ, and offers the same to you to take upon yourselves. But if he be stern and haughty, it is plain that he is not of God, nor are we to regard his words" They again asked. "And how shall we discern even this?" "Contrive," said the anchorite, "that he may first arrive with his company at the place where the synod is to be held, and if, at your approach, he shall rise up to you, hear him submissively, being assured that he is the servant of Christ; but if he shall despise you, and not rise up to you, whereas you are more in number, let him also be despised by you."

Accordingly they did as the hermit bade them. When they came to the conference, Augustine was sitting in a chair,[1] and did not rise up, whereupon they were angry and charged him with pride, and sought to contradict all that he said. He said, "You act in many particulars contrary to our custom, or rather to the custom of the Catholic Church; and

[1] "After the Roman custom," adds Henry of Huntingdon.

yet, if you will comply with me in these three points —to keep Easter at the due time; to perfect the administration of baptism, by which we are born again to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman and Apostolic Church, and jointly with us to preach the word of God to the nation of the Angles—we will readily tolerate all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs." They replied that they would do none of those things, nor receive him as their archbishop, saying among themselves, "If he would not now rise up to us, how much more will he contemn us as of no worth if we shall begin to be under his subjection?" Therefore Augustine foretold to them, that, "if they would not join in peace with their brethren, they should be warred upon by their enemies, and if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should at their hands undergo the vengeance of death." The which fell out exactly as he had predicted, when Ethelfrith slew the monks of Bangor at the battle of Chester, A.D 613.

It is unfortunate that no Welsh authority of any value has given us any account of these conferences. The lost cause had become discredited when annalists and historians began their labours, and their attempts were usually directed rather to invent stories of union with Rome at impossible dates than to preserve the truth of incidents which would attach to their early saints the reputation of schismatics. The "Annales Cambriæ" give no hint of conferences with Augustine, though they emphatically style Bishop Elbod, who

first adopted the Roman computation of Easter, "a man of God."[1] It would appear that St. David was dead at the time of the conferences. His last act was to call the Synod of Caerleon, which may have had some connexion with the controversy, but in the same year (601) he passed away. The seven bishops who attended the second conference are said by a Mediæval tradition to have been the bishop of Caerfawydd or Hereford, the bishop of Llandaff, the bishop of Llanbadarn Fawr, the bishop of Bangor, the bishop of St. Asaph, the bishop of Wig, and the bishop of Morganwg, whose seat may have been Margam.[2] The only name, however, which can with any certainty be connected with the conferences is that of "Dinoot," or Dunawd, the British king, who became founder and first abbot of the monastery of Bangor Iscoed. Like Spenser's hermit, he had been

> A man of mickle name,
> Renowned much in arms and deriing-do;[3]

but doubtless he thought, when he retired from his

[1] "Brut y Tywysogion" applies the same term to Elbod. Geoffrey of Monmouth has an account of a conference with Augustine, in which Dunawd is represented as the leader of the British delegates.

[2] From the "Book of Llanganna," Iolo MSS., p. 548. The editor in a note gives a conjectural list of the names of five bishops,—Dunawd, bishop of Bangor Iscoed; Oudoceus, bishop of Llandaff; St. Asaph, bishop of St. Asaph; Uvelwy or Uvelinus, bishop of Wig; and Morgan Mwynfawr, bishop of Margam. Bangor, however, is probably not Bangor Iscoed, nor was Dunawd a bishop.

[3] "Faerie Queen," vi. 5, 37.

kingdom to the quiet retreat by the pleasant banks of the Dee, that there he would be rid of "all the world's encumbrance." Yet, in his extreme old age,[1] the stir of the new controversy reached him in the midst of his retirement. A fresh invader had landed on the island at the very place where the hated Saxon foes had first set foot, and this invader with words of peace in his mouth, was claiming supremacy and demanding the abandonment of old traditions. The aged warrior would scarcely be disposed to regard with friendliness such pretensions, and the prominent part taken by his monks in opposing the Roman missionary may naturally be supposed to have resulted in great measure from their founder's advice. It is uncertain whether Dunawd was present at the conference or not,[2] but the tradition which affirms that he was is at least not inconsistent with the words of Bede.

[1] The "Annales Cambriæ" give 595 as the date of the death of "king Dunaut", but the dates of the period are too uncertain to militate strongly against Bede's statement. Dunawd must, however, have been very old

[2] Geoffrey of Monmouth represents him as present. The letter, ascribed to him by some Mediæval forger, preserves the tradition of his leadership.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.—III. THE SCHISM.—THE CASE FOR THE CELTIC CHURCHES.

THE schism, which began with the conferences with Augustine, lasted nearly two hundred years. It is impossible, with any regard for facts, to minimise it as a merely local dispute arising from Welsh jealousy of the English see of Canterbury, it is true that such jealousy existed, but this is not all the truth. Columbanus in Gaul had no fear of the see of Canterbury, no hatred of intrusive Saxons to incite his opposition, yet Rome encountered no sturdier opponent than he. The conflict was in essence one between the Celtic Churches and the see of Rome. The latter demanded the abandonment of local customs, the former refused. All branches joined in this refusal. The Church of Ireland and its colonies in Scotland and Gaul, were as much opposed to the Roman claims as the Church of Britain itself. Laurentius, who about 604 succeeded Augustine, sought in conjunction with his fellow bishops, Mellitus of London and Justus of Rochester, to appease by fair words the angry passions which had been aroused. He found that the contest was much more serious than he had at

first supposed, that he had not only to contend with the Britons, but with the whole power of the great Church of Ireland, then in all the vigour of its youth. "We felt," he wrote to the Irish Church, "a very high respect for the Britons as well as the Scots, from our regard to their sanctity of character; but when we came to know the Britons, we supposed the Scots must be superior to them. However, we have learned from Bishop Dagan coming into this island, and Abbot Columbanus coming into Gaul, that the Scots differ not at all from the Britons in their habits. For Bishop Dagan, when he came to us, would not eat with us, no, not so much as in the same house in which we ate." The curse of Augustine had been returned with interest; the gauntlet which he had thrown down had been taken up by the hot-blooded Celts, and the Roman missionaries to their surprise found themselves excommunicated. The intensity of feeling varied in different places; in Wales it was greatest because of national jealousies. In 705, a hundred years after Augustine's death, Aldhelm, afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, complained of the attitude of Welsh churchmen towards the Christians who observed the Roman customs. Like Dagan, they would not even eat with those whom they deemed false brethren. The very fragments of food left by the Saxons were cast to dogs and swine; the vessels used by them were cleansed with sand or ashes to purge them of the contamination of heretical touch; no signs of brotherhood were offered to them, no kiss

is not altogether concealed in Bede's narrative of Augustine's mission, for otherwise why did Augustine demand that the Britons should conform to his rule of Easter, or why did Gregory put the British bishops under Augustine's control, -a quite unwarrantable stretch of his prerogative, and an outrage upon national rights? Is it not evident that both parties really grasped the situation, and recognised that the great question of the independence of national churches was the real issue.[1] Instead of blaming the Celtic Churches, we ought to commend them,—nay, rather, honour and reverence them, because they detected in the germ and contended against the denial of national freedom, and the usurpation of all power by the papacy Had only other churches shown the same spirit, the evils from which Christendom now suffers—its unhappy divisions, the perplexities of faithful hearts, the mockery of the faithless world—might have been averted. The bitterness with which the Britons on their part carried on the struggle must be lamented, but may be pardoned if we remember that they were not the aggressors, that they felt they were maintaining their just rights, and that

[1] "The absolute grant of jurisdiction over the British Churches to St. Augustine and his successors by the pope was also suppressed (viz., at the conferences), if Bede's narrative may be trusted, and (it must be supposed) from less worthy motives; unless, indeed, we are to infer that in real fact it was brought forward, and was the rock upon which the conference was wrecked, an interpretation of Bede's narrative not unlikely, and actually adopted by the tradition represented in Dinoth's alleged answer."—Haddan and Stubbs, i. 152, *note*.

moderation would in that age have been accounted weakness, and ascribed to doubt of the justice of their cause. If their theological position was right, no fair objection can be laid against their action in excommunicating their opponents. It was merely the logical application of principles which all Christendom then acknowledged. Moreover, the Roman party[1] abated nothing of its claims. Archbishop Theodore, and after him Egbert, fulminated canons against those who observed the Celtic Easter. When Ceadda was consecrated by Wini, with the help of two British bishops who were opposed to the Roman Easter, Theodore found some fault with the manner of his consecration, and afterwards "completed his ordination after the Catholic manner," an act which must have reflected somewhat upon the British bishops who had assisted at the first consecration, if, indeed, it were not so intended by the archbishop.

The charge which is most persistently brought against the British Christians, one from which the Irish Church is wholly free, is that they took no part in preaching the gospel to the English. "They never preached the faith to the Saxons or English who dwelt amongst them," says Bede: "they would

[1] The use of the terms "Roman party" and "Roman Church" in these chapters, as regards England, merely signifies those Christians who adopted the usages introduced by the Roman mission. The Church of England which Augustine and Theodore founded was not *Roman* in the modern sense of the word, for modern Romanism was then non-existent.

[2] Bede, "H. E.," i. 22.

not acquaint the English with the knowledge of the Christian faith."[1] It may, perhaps, be natural for Englishmen to resent somewhat, even at so great a distance of time, the attitude of the Welsh towards their forefathers; yet it seems a little unreasonable to blame the Britons severely for not preaching in time of war to those with whom they were fighting. No doubt there were intervals of peace, but war was then the normal condition. It was probably long before the Britons regarded the English as more than temporary occupants of their country; they fondly looked forward to the day when God would remove the scourge which He had laid upon them for their sins. Bede hints that such was Cadwallon's hope; he had resolved "to cut off all the race of the English within the borders of Britain." But had the Britons been anxious to convert the English, it was probably impossible for them to do much; if we may believe local tradition, mutilation was the penalty inflicted on Welshmen for crossing Offa's dyke, even in the eighth century;[2] it was easy in the sixth and seventh centuries to suffer martyrdom at home from pagan Saxons, and it was probably then almost throwing one's life away to venture outside British territories among them. It does not by any means follow that because the English received Irish missionaries they would with equal willingness have welcomed preachers from a race which they despised

[1] Bede, "H. E.," v. 22.

[2] Pryce's "Ancient British Church," p. 112.

as conquered, and hated as their natural enemies. There was no lack, as we have seen, of missionary work by Britons among their fellow-Celts of Ireland and Brittany; there was a Briton, too, with St. Gall in Switzerland; and Pope Gregory III. in 739 warned the Bavarian and Allemanic bishops against British missionaries. The British Church was a missionary church, and its abstention from the work of converting the English was natural, and, perhaps, unavoidable.

There is, however, one tradition preserved by the Welsh chronicles of a mission of British Christians in Northumbria. According to Bede, King Edwin was converted by the Roman missionary Paulinus, and baptised by him at York on Easter Day, 627. In the crypt of the great minster, after passing some grand old Norman pillars with curious mouldings, the visitor is still shown what may possibly be a fragment of the stone basilica which Edwin commenced at the instigation of Paulinus. It is a shapeless wall, wholly unbeautiful, yet it awakens feelings which are not excited by the marvel of Thornton's great window or the perfect grandeur of the west front. Those compel wonder and admiration; this, love and tenderness. "Thy servants think upon her stones, and favour the dust thereof." But the mission of Paulinus was of short duration. He retired to the south after the battle of Heathfield (633), in which Edwin met Cadwallon the Briton and the Pagan Penda,[1] and was

[1] This alliance between a Welsh Christian and a pagan and the consequent departure of the Roman mission is sometime

defeated and slain. Two years later, at the invitation of King Oswald, Bishop Aidan came from Iona to Northumbria, and a Celtic mission occupied the ground from which the Roman mission had retreated. Welsh sources furnish us with a few more particulars. Edwin is said to have been brought up for a time at the court of Cadfan, king of North Wales.[1] This may possibly have given him an early inclination towards

brought as a charge against British Christianity, yet surely with little reason Bede, no doubt, complains that Cadwallon "paid no respect to the Christian religion which had newly taken root among" the Northumbrians, but this remark may mean anything or nothing. Edwin's church at York seems to have been spared, for Oswald is said to have finished it, no hint being given of its destruction Edwin had been one of the greatest scourges of the Britons, he conquered, as Bede tells us, "the Mevanian islands," viz., the islands of Man and Mona. The latter, "the mother of Wales" and the ancient glory of the Cymric race, has thenceforth borne the name of Anglesey, "the Angles isle," a noteworthy incident full of meaning One of the Three Discolourings of the Severn, mentioned by the triads, was the work of Edwin; in this and other battles he broke down the power of the Welsh. Cadwallon was besieged in 629 in the little island of Priestholm, and eventually had to flee to Dublin Nor did English kingdoms escape Edwin's grasping ambition He ruled all England except Kent. Surely it is not astonishing that at last Christian Welshmen and pagan Englishmen united against their common foe. Paulinus naturally retired after Edwin's death, because he was the chaplain of Ethelberga, Edwin's queen, and the progress of Christianity in Northumbria was retarded for the space of two years. See for further information Rhys, "Celtic Britain," pp. 128, 129.

[1] Rhys, "Celtic Britain," p. 126; Rees, "Welsh Saints," p. 303; Haddan and Stubbs, p. 124.

Christianity, though it did not make him friendly to Cadfan's son and successor, Cadwallon. One of the Welsh saints, Edwen, to whom the church of Llanedwen, in Anglesey, is dedicated, is said by some to have been a daughter or niece of the Northumbrian king.[1] But this is not all. Two Welsh authorities[2] mention a certain Rum, or Rhun, as the apostle of Northumbria. Eanfled, Edwin's daughter, was baptised with her company on the twelfth day after Pentecost. 'But Edwin received baptism on the following Easter, and twelve thousand men were baptised with him. If any one would know who baptised them, Rum, son of Urbgen, baptised them, and for forty days did not cease to baptise all the race of the Ambrones, and by his preaching many believed in Christ.' This looks very much like Bede's account with the name of Rhun put instead of Paulinus. Is the story altogether an invention or mistake on the part of the Welsh? Was Paulinus but Rhun's Roman name, as some suppose, and one manuscript of Nennius seems to say, and was the tall, stooping man with black hair, thin face, and aquiline nose, whom Bede's friend's friend had seen, one of the dark type of Celts, or may we, without

[1] Rees, 'Welsh Saints,' p. 303. However, *Iolau Saint Cymrei*, (the Pedigrees of the Welsh Saints), in Rees's 'Cambro-British Saints,' p. 271, makes Edwen daughter of Brychan of Brycheiniog.

[2] 'Continuation of Nennius' and the 'Annales Cambriæ.' The latter dates Edwin's baptism in 626, a year before Bede.—See Haddan and Stubbs, p. 124; Rhys, 'Celtic Britain,' p. 128, Skene's 'Celtic Scotland,' ii. pp. 198-9.

assuming this identification, find here, as Mr. Skene supposes, a trace of some effort made by the Cumbrian church under the leadership of a kinsman of St. Kentigern, who had succeeded to that saint's position, to "play a part in the conversion of their Anglian neighbours?"[1] We cannot tell; it is one of the unsolved, perhaps of the insoluble, problems of our history. Let it suffice to record it as a caution against wholly unqualified statements that the British Church did nothing at all for the conversion of the pagan Saxons.

[1] There was a Rhun, son of Urien, a Cumbrian chief, of whom Taliesin sings, and whom Llywarch Hen praises for generosity. He may afterwards, like Dunawd, have become a monk or priest. "The Urbgen of Nennius," says Mr. Skene, "is the Urien of the Welsh pedigree of Kentigern, which would place Rum in the position of being his uncle, which is hardly possible." — See "Cambro-British Saints," p. 266. Rhys, "Celtic Britain" (p. 128), says, "It may be supposed that the Kymry were, during those years, under the Northumbrian king's yoke, and that they joined in the work of converting his subjects to Christianity."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.—IV. THE VICTORY OF THE SEE OF ROME.

To us who know the issue of the struggle for independence, it may seem but a forlorn hope; but to the Celtic churches of the seventh century it probably wore quite a different aspect. The Britons had lost more than half of their country, but their church was purer and healthier than before their troubles,—purged of its Pelagian heresy,—quickened by its monastic system. The Irish Church was young, and full of the impetuosity of youth, of zeal and activity; it felt its bounding life, and it thought itself strong. Rome had ceased to be the capital of the world; it was not quite certain that it would remain the capital of the Church. The armies of the Irish monks had advanced and were still advancing north and south and east; they were in Iceland, in Britain, in Spain, in Gaul; even in Italy they had an outpost, threatening the Holy City itself. Had it not been for Gregory the Great and Benedict, for the action of the first in sending out Augustine to England and of the other in establishing his famous rule under Roman authority, it is just possible that Rome would have waned as Jerusalem has waned; that national churches and not a papacy would have become the custom of

Western Christendom; or even that the course of empire would have taken its way still farther westward, and Clonard or Iona would have been the church's centre in the place of Rome. England, where the Benedictine monks of Gregory met the Celtic monks, was the battle-field where the decisive conflict was fought.

Fifty years after Augustine's landing, the gospel had been preached throughout the length and breadth of England. But the Roman Church had merely annexed England south of the Thames and Norfolk; the rest of the country owed obedience to the Irish Church, and recognised the abbot of Iona as the chief of the mission.[1] Thus the gain made by the Roman party in England was small when compared with that of the Irish Church, and the British Church had lost nothing save the new conquests of the Saxons. But, on the other hand, the Roman Church could claim one great victory elsewhere which compensated for its small success in England, for about 634 the southern Scots of Ireland, after a synod and the despatch of deputies to Rome, had resolved to conform to the Roman Easter. In England, too, fortune suddenly shifted; once more woman's influence intervened on the side of Rome, and once

[1] Iona and its dependencies were reckoned a part of the Irish Church. Pope John IV., in a letter to the Irish Church (about 640), enumerates among the bishops, priests, doctors, and abbots whom he addresses, Segenus, or Segine, the abbot of Iona at the time.—See Bede, "H. E.," ii. 19; Skene, "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 162.

more won the day. As Bertha had prevailed with Ethelbert, as Ethelberga with Edwin, so Eanfleda, the wife of Oswy of Northumbria, won over her husband, and thereby transferred the north and the midlands from Iona to Rome. A synod was held at Whitby in 664. On the Roman side appeared a notable man, Wilfrid, afterwards archbishop of York,—"a turbulent priest," his enemies would have deemed him for his life was one continued conflict, but withal a man of earnestness, energy, and ability, which he wholly devoted to the cause of Rome. His name is well known to archæologists because of his foundation of churches at Hexham and Ripon, where most curious crypts still exist. At Ripon, the strange opening in the wall of the crypt is even now popularly styled "St. Wilfrid's Needle." His opponent was Colman, the Columban bishop of Lindisfarne. The discussion was conducted learnedly on both sides, but the rude king and his councillors grasped only one idea, that the cause of Wilfrid was the cause of St. Peter, who held the keys of heaven. Fearing to offend the porter of heaven's gate, lest at the last he might refuse to open to them, the council decided in Wilfrid's favour. The Iona mission retired north, and England was transferred to the Roman party.

But this curious, almost ludicrous conception of the simple-minded Oswy was not the sole cause of this great change. Eata, abbot of Melrose, and his prior, Cuthbert, were convinced at the synod of Whitby, and gave in their adhesion to the Roman

usage. The accession of Cuthbert was of the greatest value to the cause of Rome. The reputation of his sanctity established firmly what the will of Oswy could only initiate. The Church of Rome had good cause for the gratitude it exhibited in later ages. Wilfrid, at the south side of the high altar of Ripon; Cuthbert, at the back of the high altar of Durham, in the chapel of the Nine Altars, in front of that magnificent series of windows which modern piety has once more filled with the splendour of harmonious colour—these saints, lying thus enshrined, were revered by the Middle Ages as the apostles of the north. But no shrines were raised to Aidan, Finan, or Colman; the ruins of Lindisfarne and the Celtic cross that stands above the model of Cuthbert's pectoral cross, in the modern screen of Durham, are among the few memorials of the Christianity of Iona which faded away before the greatness of the Christianity of Rome.

From the time of the synod of Whitby the cause of Celtic independence was doomed. Had not Gregory sent forth the Roman mission when he did, or had Colman vanquished Wilfrid, English tenacity would have been joined to Celtic enthusiasm, and Rome might in vain have striven to impose its yoke. But the Celt could not conquer without the aid of the Teuton. The missionary enterprise of the Celtic churches was like the battle-charge of the ancient Highlanders, brilliantly successful for a while, but unable to secure a final and permanent conquest. The Gaulish warrior, Vercingetorix, stayed for a few months by his heroic spirit the advance of the world-

subduing legions of Pagan Rome; and so Columbanus, Dunawd, and Colman checked, but could not stop, the advance of Christian Rome, with its claim of universal dominion and its denial of national rights. The rule of Columbanus gave place on the Continent to the rule of Benedict; the council of Autun, in Burgundy, as early as 670, recognised the latter rule and no other. In 697 the Northern Scots of Ireland, with the exception of the Columban monasteries, followed the example of their southern brethren and conformed to Rome, and in 704 there began a schism over the Easter question at Iona itself. In 710, Naiton, king of the Picts of Scotland, and his people conformed, and seven years afterwards all the Columban monks were expelled from the Pictish kingdom. The schism at Iona ended about 772, after which time there is no indication of opposition to Rome.

Of the British Church, the first branch to yield was that of the Strathclyde Britons. They conformed in 688. Their bishop, Sedulius, is mentioned as attending a council held in Rome, under Pope Gregory II., in 721. He was an Irishman by birth. About 705 the Britons of Somerset and Devon, who were subject to Wessex, found it advisable to be convinced by Aldhelm, who, at the bidding of an English synod, wrote an epistle to Geruntius, king of Damnonia, against the British usages. In 768,[1] Elfod, or Elbod, "a man of God," the bishop of Bangor, introduced

[1] This is the date given by the "Annales Cambriæ" and "Brut y Tywysogion," but the "Brut y Tywysogion" (*Gwentian*) gives 755 as the date.

the Roman Easter in North Wales. South Wales still held out, and the orthodox English attempted to coerce the heterodox Welsh by invading their country. A battle was fought at Hereford, in which Gyfelach, a British bishop, possibly of Glamorgan, was slain; but the English were defeated. In 777 Easter was altered in South Wales;[1] but differences still existed on the point in Wales, for in 809, we are told, on the death of Bishop Elfod, "a great tumult occurred among the ecclesiastics on account of Easter, for the bishops of Llandaff and Menevia would not succumb to the archbishop of Gwynedd,[2] being themselves bishops of older privilege."[3] Even after this, in the middle of the ninth century, "certain clergy of those living at the very ends of the world, for the sake of certain ecclesiastical traditions and a perfect and accurate calculation of Easter, having reached the royal city (of Constantinople), came to the Patriarch of that time," whose name was Methodius,—a man skilful in knowledge of the fathers.[4] These were conjectured by Usher to have been British Christians.

In the ninth century (between 833 and 870) Kenstec, bishop of Dinnurrin, in Cornwall, made a

[1] All this was contemporaneous with Offa, the great king of Mercia, who conquered a great part of Powys, including Pengwern, now called Shrewsbury, and was the most powerful man of his time. He reigned from 755 to 794.

[2] *I.e.*, the bishop of Bangor.

[3] "Brut y Tywysogion."

[4] "Vita St. Chrysost.," quoted by Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 204.

profession of canonical obedience to Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury.[1] Yet the Cornish people would still seem to have been hostile to the Roman customs, for we are told that up to 909 "they resisted the truth as far as possible, and would not obey the apostolic decrees."[2] Even after this, traces of the old style are found in the records of the "Liber Landavensis" and the "Brut y Tywysogion." The first does not adopt the new reckoning of the nineteen years' cycle until 1022, and the latter not till 1005, and both use it erroneously

Thus ends the independence and therewith the history of the Ancient British Church. Even Wales had relinquished her national customs, and was also subject in some degree to the see of Canterbury. The first mention of the consecration of bishops in South Wales by the archbishop of Canterbury occurs in the time of Alfred. His friend Asser, a monk of St. David's, and nephew of Bishop Novis, relates the submission of various Welsh princes to the English king;[4] and this supremacy of England was accompanied by the supremacy of Canterbury. Hubert, "the Saxon," otherwise called Llunwerth, or Lwmbert, bishop of St. David's, was consecrated by Ethelred, archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 671.

[2] *Ib.*, p. 676, a quotation from "Leofric's Missal."

[3] *Ib.*, p. 204.

[4] "De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi." The kings were Hemeid of Dyfed, Howel of Glewyssig, Brocmael and Fernmael of Gwent, Helised of Brecon, and Anarawd of Gwynedd.

about 874,[1] and two bishops of Llandaff are also mentioned as being consecrated by the same prelate. No doubt, the invasions of the Danes, "the black pagans," as they were called, which grievously distressed both Wales and England at this time, made Welsh and English less inclined to remember their old feuds, and more willing to unite against a common foe. Alfred's intervention in Welsh affairs was regarded with favour by the clergy of St. David's. Asser's friends encouraged him to seek the favour of the English king, as they hoped to receive protection against Hemeid, the prince of Dyfed, who often plundered the monastery and diocese of St. David's. Asser, though a Welshman, was eventually appointed to the English bishopric of Sherborne. He tells us that Alfred devoted a part of his revenues, not only to monasteries in England, but also to "the churches and servants of God" in other districts, among them being Wales and Cornwall. Thus, union between the church in Wales and the see of Canterbury was facilitated by acts of kindness on the part of England. After Alfred's death the movement towards union gradually progressed. Not a hundred years after Hubert's consecration, the English king, Edgar, settled the boundaries of the Welsh kingdom of Morganwg and bishopric of Llandaff.[2] Finally, Anselm (1093–1104) put Herwald, bishop of Llandaff, under an interdict, and Archbishop Baldwin, in 1188,

[1] "Annales Cambriæ"; "Brut y Tywysogion" (*Gwent*); "Brut y Tywysogion."

[2] "Liber Landavensis."

as he preached the crusade in Wales, celebrated at the high altar of each cathedral, in sign of his supremacy over the Welsh Church.

There is room, perhaps, for doubt whether the triumph of the Celtic Churches or of the Church of Rome was the more desirable. Celtic Christianity was more poetic, more distinguished for missionary zeal and enthusiasm, more warm-hearted, and freer, perhaps also deeper and more spiritual, than the Christianity which took its place; had it prevailed, too, national independence would not have been sacrificed, and we might have escaped the terrible evils that have flowed from the monstrous pretensions of the later papacy. But the Roman Church was far superior in organisation. Augustine was an unskilful agent, and his mission was a failure; but Theodore of Tarsus, who came from Rome as archbishop of Canterbury in 668, had a genius for organisation, and was the real founder of the English Church. On the other hand, the Irish Church, which was the more prominent of the Celtic Churches at the time of the schism, was unsurpassed in planting, but deficient in organising. The British Church had a diocesan episcopacy, and never fell into the chaotic condition of its sister-communion; but in the Irish Church all the direction was in the hands of abbots and abbesses, who had bishops subject to them, and all that these bishops had to do was to hand on the apostolic succession. Some uncritical persons have supposed that this was Presbyterianism, but all history refutes this. In *jurisdiction*, the presbyter-abbot

was the superior; in *orders*, he was always regarded as the inferior. St. Brigid had a bishop under her to take care of her students' souls "regularly in all things"; to consecrate her churches, and "settle the ecclesiastical degrees" (that is, ordain clergy) "in them": so that "nothing should be wanting of sacerdotal order in her churches"[1] St. Patrick is said to have consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops, and no less than one hundred and forty-one groups of seven bishops of various places in Ireland are invoked in the Litany of Angus the Culdee. This enormous multiplication of bishops, and the subordination of the superior to the inferior order in respect of jurisdiction, would, if perpetuated, have led to endless confusion; and our sympathy with Celtic saintliness and the Celtic love of liberty must not blind us to these facts. Moreover, the English Church which Theodore organised, though more under the power of Rome than the Celtic Churches had been, was still a national church, with national peculiarities, and was one body at unity with itself before England had been unified as a state, and at the same time had that connexion with the culture of the rest of Western Christendom which the Celtic Churches had been willing to forego.

[1] Todd's "St. Patrick," p. 13.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CUSTOMS, DOCTRINE, AND DISCIPLINE OF THE BRITISH CHURCH AT THE TIME OF THE SCHISM.

THE points on which the question of independence was fought were the date of Easter, the British mode of Baptism, and the Tonsure. Augustine, according to the testimony of Bede, laid stress upon the two former, but subsequently, and also in the controversy with Columbanus, the question of the mode of baptism was left unnoticed, and the tonsure is mentioned instead. Nothing can be drearier than the study of the details of dead controversies about ritual and practice. Posterity will feel an interest in the Oxford Movement of our own century, but may be puzzled at the strife over gown and surplice, and will scarcely care to consider all the labour and learning that have been bestowed upon the vestments rubric; and, in like manner, though we can sympathise with the struggle against Rome, when viewed as a gallant fight for independence, we find nothing absorbing in the Metonic cycle, the Quarto-deciman heresy, and all the other matters of dispute with which the ancient question of the date of Easter bristles. We cannot, however, altogether ignore the points on which Rome demanded concession and Britain refused it; for there are serious misapprehensions

sometimes entertained which it is necessary to remove, but minutiæ may be safely dispensed with.

The gist of the whole question between the Churches about Easter is that, after great confusion arising from divergence of use in different parts of Christendom, and after various changes of reckoning, the Roman Church, in 525, accepted the nineteen-years cycle of Dionysius Exiguus; whereas the British Church, which was then quite cut off from Rome by the troubles of the Saxon invasion,[1] retained the older computation, fixing the moon by an eighty-four-years cycle, and counting as Easter-day "the Sunday which fell next after the equinox, between the 14th and the 20th, not, as it had come to be at Rome, the 15th and the 21st days inclusive of the moon." The Roman controversialists frequently failed to understand the exact position of the British Church in this matter, and accused her of Judaising tendencies; and their Celtic opponents themselves, as erroneously, tried to shield themselves under the authority of St. John; but, really, the whole matter lay in the fact that the Britons and Irish clung to an antiquated reckoning which Rome had abandoned. Naturally, when the two usages came to be practised in the same country, great inconvenience resulted. At the court of Northumbria, Oswy, as a member of the Columban Church, was joining in the festival services of Easter while his queen was still keeping the Fast of Lent; his Easter-

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 153. See also Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 9.

day was her Palm Sunday.[1] There is, no doubt, much to be said for the Roman contention that the Britons and Irish ought to have given way; only, unfortunately, the fact that the question of independence was involved made such a sacrifice difficult.

The difference in the mode of baptism may have been that the British Church used only one immersion, whereas the Roman Church enjoined three, to signify that the rite was performed in the name of the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Pope Gregory I. did not regard the matter as a very important one, and no one but Augustine is recorded to have objected to the British usage. Single immersion was practised in Spain in the sixth century, probably through British influence, and held its ground in a diocese of Brittany as late as 1620.

There were some curious stories afloat at the time of the schism about the British tonsure,[2] which indicate the nature of the controversial literature of the time, and may console us a little, perhaps, when we grieve over the calumnies of our own day. The Britons and the Irish shaved across the front of the head from ear to ear; the Romans shaved the crown, the circle of hair which was left being supposed to represent the crown of thorns. The Romans ascribed the Celtic tonsure to Simon Magus—a lie which was, perhaps, an exaggeration of a truth, for the tonsure may have been Druidical in origin, and the words "Druids"

[1] Bede, "H. E.," iii. 25.

[2] Pseudo-Gildas, Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 112.

and "Magi" are synonymous in early Celtic literature. The Druids shaved their hair to indicate that they were servants of the powers they worshipped; so Arthur in the "Mabinogion"[1] cuts the hair of the youth who enters his service, and Patrick shaved the beard of Fiacc when he ordained him. One of the Welsh canons prohibited Catholics from "promising their hair after the manner of the barbarians," on pain of being reckoned "aliens from the Church of God, and from the table of Christians."[2] It was a stroke of genius to connect this possibly Druidic tonsure with Simon, the prince of the magicians, notable in sacred history and legend. Many a Celtic missionary in the pagan districts of the North would be sore troubled with the thought that the calumny might, after all, be true, as he confronted the Druids, and marvelled at the similarity of their tonsure to his own. But there was yet a second story, partly based upon a mistranslation of an Irish word. We are told that the British tonsure was introduced into Ireland by the swineherd of King Loigaire Mac Neill. The man meant was Dubthach,[3] who was no swineherd, but chief poet of Ireland,—the only one who rose up to greet St. Patrick on his memorable visit to Loigaire at Tara, and who was afterwards St. Patrick's devoted pupil. As Loigaire was hostile to Patrick, according to the legend, and sought to slay him,[4] the story about

[1] P. 222 (second edition).
[2] Canon 61. Haddan and Stubbs, i p. 137.
[3] Rhys, "Celtic Britain," pp. 72-74.
[4] Todd's "St Patrick," pp 424, 433.

Loigaire's swineherd reads like another half-truth converted into a calumnious lie

The Celtic Churches had other peculiarities, on which less stress was laid by their opponents. The same writer who tells us of Loigaire's swineherd says that the "Picts were contrary to the whole world, and hostile to Roman customs," in the Mass We do not know what peculiarity is alluded to, but the Columbian liturgy was accused at the council of Maçon (A.D. 624, 627) of having too many collects in its order of mass It was customary in the British Church about the time of the schism for the consecration of bishops to be performed by a single bishop, contrary to the canon to which Britain had assented at the council of Arles Jocelyn tells us that St Kentigern was consecrated by a single bishop. The British custom, he says, was only unction of the head by pouring on the sacred chrism, with the invocation of the Holy Ghost, the benediction, and the imposition of hands Consecration by a single bishop is also recorded in the legends of Dyfrig and Teilo The practice was never regarded as invalid,[1] although it was held subsequently to be uncanonical It long continued in Ireland St Anselm complained in the twelfth century, that in that country "bishops, like priests, were ordained by a single bishop"

There were also variations from the Roman customs in the building, dedication, and consecration of churches Although stone churches were not un-

[1] Todd, "St Patrick," 82

known in the British Church,—for Ninias, who had been trained at Rome, built one, and the Romans during their stay as lords of Britain had various churches of solid construction,—yet, as we have seen before, the British churches were usually of wood, and it was noted as a particular sign of a wish to accommodate himself in every point to Roman usage, when, in 710, Naiton, king of the Picts, asked for architects who could build him a church of stone after the fashion of the Romans. He further announced his intention to dedicate it to St. Peter—another departure from Celtic usage, for comparatively few of the Celtic Churches are known to have been dedicated to saints, most of them bearing the names of their native founders. Of the buildings of the Church of the Roman Province we know little. Gildas tells us that after the Diocletian persecution "basilicas" of the holy martyrs were founded, and there are said to have been an early church in memory of St. Alban at Verulamium, and two, dedicated to Julius and Aaron, at Caerleon. Moreover, there were churches of St. Martin, built before the departure of the Romans, at Canterbury and at Whitherne. In Wales, however, the general rule that churches bore their founders' names certainly holds good. The chief exceptions are the *Merthyrs*, such as Merthyr Tydfil, Merthyr Tewdrig, and Merthyr Dyfan, which were raised to martyrs[1] or to victims

[1] Merthyr means "martyr," and the term was very loosely employed, for even Tyfei, who was accidentally slain, is recorded as a martyr.

of Saxon inroads, and the two churches which are supposed to have been named after Teilo's nephew, Tyfei.[1] We learn also from Bede that the practices of the Columban missionaries were the same as those of the British Church. When the Columban bishop, Finan, founded his cathedral at Lindisfarne, he built it "after the manner of the Scots" (*i.e.*, Irish), not of stone, but of sawn timber, and roofed it with reeds. It was Archbishop Theodore, the English prelate, who first dedicated it to St. Peter, and no previous dedication is mentioned. When Cedd, bishop of the East Saxons, trained in Columban usages at Lindisfarne, founded the monastery of Laestingaeu, he consecrated it in a way which attracted the notice of Bede, who relates it as a curious instance of Celtic practices. He first sanctified the site by fasting and prayer during the season of Lent, prolonging his fast each day, except the Lord's day, till the evening. Even then he took nothing save a little bread, one egg, and a little milk and water. This, he said, was the custom of those from whom he had learned a rule of regular discipline; first to consecrate to our Lord by prayer and fasting those places which they had newly received for building a monastery or a church. As he was called away when ten of the forty days were still remaining, he caused his brother, Cynebil, a priest, to complete the pious work; and

[1] The introduction of dedications to other than local saints and founders is recorded as a novelty in the "Brut y Tywysogion." "A.D. 717. A year after that and the church of St. Michael (Llanfihangel) was consecrated."

after this was done, he built the monastery. No patron saint is mentioned; it was not till after Cedd's death that a stone church was built in honour of the Virgin.[1]

There were also peculiarities in the early Anglo-Saxon Church, apparently in Northumbria, which probably had a British origin, for the church in Northumbria was planted by Iona monks, and was likely to retain for a while some of their usages.[2] They all occurred in the ordination services, and were the anointing of the hands of deacons, also the anointing of the heads and hands of priests and bishops, the head of a bishop being anointed twice, a prayer at the giving of the stole to deacons, and the rites of delivering the gospel to deacons, and of investing priests with the stole. The British origin of these usages gains confirmation from the allusion in Gildas[3] to the custom of blessing hands in the British Church.[4]

It has sometimes been supposed that the dispute

[1] Bede, "H. E.," v. 2.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, i. pp. 140, 1.

[3] "The blessing wherewith the hands of priests or ministers are consecrated."—Gildas, "Epistle," § 100.

[4] Queen Margaret of Scotland reproved the Scottish Church for desecrating the Lord's day. They appear to have rested on Saturday as the Sabbath, and kept the Lord's day as the day of resurrection, but not abstained from worldly labours upon it. Columba kept Saturday as the Sabbath, so that they may have been following the example of the Irish Church, and possibly, also, this may have been the usage of the British Church.—Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. pp. 348, 350.

between the Celtic Churches and Rome had to do with doctrine as well as practice, but there is no proof of this, and the silence of the hostile critic, Bede, indicates the contrary. Pope John IV. in 640, accused the Irish Church of Pelagianism, but no hint is given that the British Church was in any way implicated, and Rhyddmarch's statement that Pelagianism was the matter treated of at the synod of Llandd wi Br fi is sufficiently refuted by the canons of that synod

In doctrine, therefore, we may safely conclude that the British Church at the time of the schism was at one with the main body of Christendom. It had bishops, priests, and deacons, and recognised the due subordination and the special functions of the three orders. There were also sub deacons and readers.[1] The Eucharist was called the "sacrifice"; it was "offered" by the priest, and the deacon could "hold the chalice."[2] The Welsh names for the Lord's Supper and for priest are "offeren" (offering) and "offeiriad" (offerer) If a bishop were present, he celebrated as the superior. Columba, the presbyter-abbot of Iona, recognised this in one instance mentioned by his biographer, Adamnan. A certain bishop from Munster

[1] These were two of the "minor orders" of the Church. The sub-deacons had to assist the deacons in some of their functions, and were specially employed by the bishops as their legates. The readers read the longer lessons in public service, and kept the copies of the Scripture at their houses.

[2] Canon XII. in "Excerpta de Libro Davidis."—Haddan and Stubbs, i. 119.

came to visit him, who, through modesty, concealed his office. At the celebration, Columba discovered that he was a bishop, and said, "Christ bless thee, brother; do thou break the bread alone, according to the episcopal rite; for I know now thou art a bishop. Why hast thou disguised thyself so long, and prevented our giving thee the honour due to thee?"

There was a liturgy in the British Church, and that of the Irish Church was probably similar, if we are to believe the statement that David, Gildas, and Cadoc gave a liturgy, or liturgies, to the second order of Irish saints. Gildas alludes to the lessons read at the ordination service of the British churches, but we have no other fragments of it. The collects which we possess of Cornish or Welsh origin are all of somewhat later date. Chanting of psalms was a great part of the monastic services. The lessons of the ordinal were taken from a variety of the Old Latin version of the Bible used prior to the Vulgate, which variety appears from a comparison of the quotations in Gildas, Fastidius, Columbanus, and other Celtic writers, to have been peculiar to the Celtic Churches. They were also acquainted with the Vulgate. There is no evidence of the existence of a Celtic version. Latin was the language of religion and culture; all Gildas's writings are in Latin.

There was no compulsory rule of celibacy imposed on the clergy, though Gildas shows signs of a feeling adverse to their marriage. St. Patrick tells us in his "Confession" that he was the son of Calpurnius, a deacon, who was the son of Potitus, a priest, which

shows the practice of his time. Gildas, in reproving the clergy of the sixth century, quotes against them the passage from the lesson at ordination:—"A bishop must be the husband of one wife."[1] At a much later age, when Rome was enforcing celibacy on other churches, she had much difficulty with Britain. Although the laws of Howell the Good (928) set a stigma upon a priest's son born after ordination, who was not to have any part of the inheritance with his elder brother, "because he was begotten contrary to decree," yet the old custom prevailed long after this. In 961, we are told, "the priests were enjoined not to marry without the leave of the Pope, on which account a great disturbance took place in the diocese of Llandaff, so that it was considered best to allow matrimony to the priests."[2] This was at the time when Dunstan was making great efforts to enforce celibacy in England, and when King Edgar had great power in Wales, and settled the limits of the diocese of Llandaff and kingdom of Glamorgan as the suzerain. Benefices were frequently hereditary in families. The bishopric of St. David's passed, in 1088, on the death of Sulien the Wise, to his son, Rhyddmarch, the biographer of

[1] Also, further on, he quotes, "Ruling well his own house, having his children subject with all chastity." "Imperfect, therefore," he continues, "is the chastity of the fathers, if there is not added to the same also the chastity of the sons. But how will it be, when neither the father nor the son, corrupted by the example of a wicked father, is seen to be chaste?"—"Ep." § 109.

[2] "Brut y Tywysogion."

St. David. Sulien left four sons, another of whom, Daniel, was elected to his father's see in 1122, but not suffered to hold it through the interference of Henry I. Rhyddmarch also had a son, named Sulien, after his grandfather. In 1147, Nichol, son of Bishop Gwrgant, was elected to the see of Llandaff, and David, son of Gerald, archdeacon of Cardiff, to the see of St. David's. This David was himself married, and had sons and daughters. Although the wives of the clergy began now to be called by a grosser name, Wales, with characteristic obstinacy, did not readily yield to ecclesiastical prohibitions, and public opinion remained for some time little shaken by the prejudices of the English and of Anglicised Welshmen, such as Giraldus.

"Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Such is the motto that might appropriately be written at the head of the Welsh canons of discipline. Three synods were held in the time of St. David, at Llanddewi Brefi, at Lucus Victoriæ,[1] "the grove of Victory," in 569, and at Caerleon in 601. Records of two of these synods, doubtless derived from Brittany, have been preserved in the north of France, and are still extant. We possess also penitential rules ascribed to Gildas, and a collection of Welsh canons of the seventh century. As we read these documents we are struck with amazement and horror at the crimes for which penalties are prescribed. Is

[1] This is the name in the canons. Rhyddmarch and the "Annales Cambriæ" call it the Synod of "Victoria."

it possible, we ask ourselves, that clergy and monks could be guilty of such foul offences? Yet, if we reflect, we must acknowledge that to recognise the possibility of a crime is not to assert its prevalence, any more than to ignore it does away with its existence. We cannot infer of necessity from these canons that the clergy, as a class, were stained with such criminality. The British Church recognised that the heart of man is "desperately wicked," and did not fold her hands and shut her eyes while her children went headlong to perdition. There will be grievous wickedness in all ages, and, perhaps, her policy of recognising its existence and providing against it was better than inaction

Yet, while we must guard against exaggeration, we know from other evidence that the age was indeed one of violence and crime. Perhaps the light penalty inflicted for the fault of being too drunk to sing the psalms, while not too drunk to be present at the service, may indicate that drunkenness was not uncommon even in the monasteries. The offender was deprived of supper, according to a rule of Gildas,—perhaps, after all, a sufficient punishment, for that frugal meal of bread, herbs, and salt, which we might willingly dispense with, was, apparently, the chief meal of the scantily-fed monks. The canons of St. David fix severe penances for drunkenness in various cases. If priests who were about to minister in church drank wine or strong drink through negligence, three days' penance was imposed; if in contempt of those who rebuked them, forty days. Those

who were actually drunk had fifteen days' penance if it were through ignorance; if through negligence, forty days; if through contempt, thrice forty days! He who forced another to get drunk by way of courtesy, was to do the same penance as the drunken man; but, if one forced another to get drunk in order to laugh at him, the offender was to do penance as a murderer of souls.

One canon of the synod of Lucus Victoriæ fixes heavy penalties for the offence of serving as guide to the "barbarians"—that is, no doubt, the invading English. If no slaughter of Christians ensued, or bloodshed, or dread captivity, the offender was to do penance for thirteen years; but, if the invasion had been attended with any such results, he was to do penance for the rest of his life.

In such rules the British Church, in an age when crime was rife, uttered its protest against sin and for righteousness. These penances indicate no compromise with evil, as the nominal penances of more corrupt ages may do. Whether she was right or wrong, her motive was pure. As the life of Maelgwn has proved, no gifts, no outward observances could buy from her the promise of heaven or avert spiritual censures. Kings were not spared for their wealth, nor peasants for their poverty. Nothing, she taught, not even fasting or abstention from worldly pleasures, could win heaven; only the pure in heart could see God. "Abstinence from bodily meats," said Gildas,[1]

[1] In his "Second Epistle."

"is useless without charity. Therefore they are better who do not greatly fast, nor abstain from the creatures of God beyond measure, anxiously keeping their hearts within in the presence of God, from whom they know is the issue of life; than they who eat no flesh, nor delight themselves with the meats of the world, nor ride in carriages and on horses, and for these things count themselves better than others; for to them death enters by the window of elevation."

Stern as these canons are against sin, they are full of the merciful spirit of the Divine Master, who came to call sinners to repentance. Crimes are mentioned which, if detected now, would cast a man out from the society of his fellows, but these could not then cast him out of the Church or from his God. A hope was granted to the vilest, if he repented and submitted to do hard penance. Even before the penance was finished, the offender was re-admitted to communion; "after a year and a half let him receive the Eucharist, and come to peace, let him sing psalms with the brethren, lest in so long a time his soul may utterly perish for lack of the heavenly medicine." The Church was more tender in enforcing her divine precepts than the world has ever been in maintaining her conventional code. The Church was fairer, too in apportioning her punishments the world deals oft-times more hardly with the inferior rank of offenders than with their superiors in station; but the British Church, in accordance with the Master's rule, that "unto whom much is given, of him shall be

much required," gave the direction that he whose position implied more knowledge of his Lord's will should be punished with more "stripes" than the man of inferior grade. "Ancient saints have decreed," says one rule, "that for deadly sins a bishop should do penance for twenty-three years; a priest, twelve; a deacon, seven; so also a virgin, and a reader, and a monk; but a layman four."

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new," and many of the usages and opinions which we have encountered in our review of the history of the Ancient Church of Britain wear to our eyes a strange and unfamiliar, perhaps at times a repellant, aspect. Yet for us the olden saints toiled and died; to us they left a heritage of Catholic truth and order, which has been handed down through successive centuries, and withal a spirit of national independence and hostility to foreign usurpation. Lunawd, the Briton, more truly than Harold the Saxon, left this island his "legacy of war against the Pope."[1] More precious still is the legacy of their deep personal piety, their devout realisation of the companionship of the Divine Master, their contempt of the world, their clear perception of the future life in the contemplation

[1] Tennyson's "Harold."

of which they spent their life on earth; and this united with the lovable qualities that spring from the kindly Celtic heart, with love of nature, gentleness to the weak, even to animals, indignation against oppression, burning zeal for the salvation of souls, and "the enthusiasm of humanity." Gildas, indeed, is a stern and melancholy figure on the page of history, but his friend, the cheerful and kindly Cadoc, his tutor Illtyd, the protector of the hunted stag, are equally representative of the Celtic monk, and, like Columba of Iona,[1] win our heart, while they impress our imagination and our judgment. English Church men may well prize the legacy such saints have left as a most precious part of their inheritance from antiquity, without staying to raise the discussion from whom their Church is descended, whether from the Roman, British, or Irish Churches; for as divers races live and mingle in the one country, so divers strains have blended in the one Anglican communion. Prejudice and ignorance have, however, in the past, stood in the way of the study of the history of our ancient saints, and, it is to be feared, may still retain some of their power. But we may disapprove of monasticism without dissociating ourselves from the early monks, who were the salt of the earth. England, of all the countries of Europe "the most deeply

[1] Columba's character may best be seen in the pages of Adamnan. The sterner qualities sometimes ascribed to him are derived from the late and untrustworthy stories of O'Donnel. —See Skene's "Celtic Scotland," ii. p. 145.

furrowed by the monastic plough,"[1] should not suffer an idle prejudice to blind her to the services of her benefactors. We need not superstitiously reverence their defects; but we ought to admire their virtues. If we are ungrateful, the loss is wholly ours; we suffer by losing the meaning of "the Communion of Saints,"—they, to whom in their missionary zeal "every foreign land was their own country, and every country but a foreign land," have now reached their true native land, the rest and peace of which no ingratitude can impair. Yet, however successive ages may vary in regarding these early workers, however different men may vary,—some proudly boasting that they are "better than their fathers," others humbly seeking to imitate the virtues and avoid the errors of antiquity,—the beautiful land of Wales, where so many of these holy men lived and died, ever recounts to the willing listener the story of the olden days. The names of its villages, of its islands, rocks, and wells,—the carved and inscribed stones which are so common, keep fresh the memory of its saints and of their faith. Bardsey and Llantwit may be unknown and unnoticed, but their witness is writ large for all who visit them. The former, once frequented and populous, is now but thinly peopled; it is visited only by steamboats, which carry excursionists from Portmadoc and Criccieth in the summer, or by an occasional tourist of antiquarian tastes, who risks the rough passage from

[1] Montalembert.

Aberdaron, and who probably fails now to remark the pious custom of prayer by the rowers, which Pennant noticed in the last century.[1] But the ruins of the abbey, the successor of Cadfan's foundation, still compel interest, and the dust of the island is hallowed. To parody Dr. Johnson's oft quoted words respecting Iona:—That Welshman is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Bardsey. But Bardsey and Llantwit are but prominent examples of what is found all over Wales. The rocky island bears the name of the hermit who made it his abode; the sea-beaten promontory has some ruined chapel that was once a beacon to the sailor; the enclosed valley some fragment of a monastery of ancient foundation where the traveller over the rugged pass once found shelter, rest, and food freely provided. Glamorgan, where populous river-valleys, with mines and furnaces, alternate with bleak and barren mountain-tops,—where an undulating plain of luxuriant greenery slopes from breezy heights to an island-studded sea, has everywhere in the midst of its centres of population, its quiet villages, and its desolate wilds, churches which olden saints founded, crosses, stones,

[1] "From this port (viz., Aberdaron) I once took boat for Bardsey island, which lies about three leagues to the west. The mariners seemed tinctured with the piety of the place; for they had not rowed far before they made a full stop, doffed their hats, and offered up a short prayer."—"Tours in Wales," vol. ii. p. 369 (*Rhys's edition*).

and wells with which their memory or their faith is in some way connected. To him who has once realised how the sacred history of Wales is written upon its surface, more clearly than its geological history in its rocks, the whole country wears a changed aspect, and

> Meadow, grove, and stream,
> The earth, and every common sight,
> To *him* doth seem
> Apparell'd in celestial light.

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